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Anna Catherina Feilding

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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE,

INTRODUCTORY TO

USEFUL BOOKS IN THE PRINCIPAL BRANCHES

OF

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

WITH

LISTS OF THE MOST APPROVED AUTHORS;

INCLUDING THE

BEST EDITIONS OF THE CLASSICS.

DESIGNED CHIEFLY FOR THE

JUNIOR STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES,

AND THE

HIGHER CLASSES IN SCHOOLS.

By HENRY KETT, B. D.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE following Work contains the ſubſtance of a Courſe of Lectures, which I have occaſionally read to my pupils during the laſt twelve years. The ſatisfaction which they expreſſed on hearing them has encouraged me to hope, that they will not prove unacceptable to thoſe, for whoſe uſe they are now made public.

To aſſert a claim to originality in ſuch a work as this would perhaps only be equivalent to a confeſſion of its demerit. My pretenſions to public regard muſt depend in no ſmall degree upon the manner in which I have clothed old ideas in a new dreſs, and upon my ſkill in compreſſing within a moderate compaſs the ſubſtance of large and voluminous works. Upon all my ſubjects I have endeavoured to reflect light from every quarter which my reading would afford. My references, and the books mentioned in my Appendix, will ſhow the ſources from which I have derived my principal information; but it would be almoſt an endleſs, and perhaps a very oſtentatious taſk, to enumerate all my literary obligations.

There are a few topics indeed, with reſpect to which I think I may be allowed to aſſert ſome claims to novelty. For many of my remarks on *the Greek Language* I am indebted principally to my own obſervations upon its nature and comparative merits; the *Hiſtory of Chivalry*, important as the influence of that remarkable inſtitution has been upon manners, is a ſubject upon which I have not been able to collect much information from Engliſh Authors; and the *Hiſtory of the Revival of Claſſical Learning*, although a topic of the ſtrongeſt intereſt to every man of letters, has never been fully treated by any writer, with whoſe works I am acquainted.

Many of my *Quotations* are ſelected from ſuch works, as, either from their ſize, number of volumes, or ſcarceneſs, do not frequently come within the reach of young men. If ſome of them are borrowed from more obvious and popular works, their peculiar beauty, ſtrength, and appoſiteneſs, it is preſumed, will juſtify their introduction. But elegant as my quotations may be in point of ſtyle, concluſive as to reaſoning, or ſtriking as to the impreſſion they are calculated to make; they will not completely anſwer the intended purpoſe, if, while they raiſe a high opinion of the merit of their authors, they do not excite an eager curioſity to peruſe more of their works.

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of regard; if I ſhould excite a more ardent and more active attention to any branches of uſeful knowledge; and if the variety of my topics ſhould contribute to diffuſe more widely the light of general information and uſeful truth; I ſhall have the ſatisfaction to reflect, that my time has not been ſacrificed to a frivolous purpoſe by thus endeavouring, in conformity with the occupations of the moſt valuable portion of my life, to inſtruct the riſing generation.

It has been ſuggeſted to me by ſome of my Oxford friends, that this work may prove uſeful to thoſe who are qualifying themſelves to paſs the public Examinations for their degrees in this Univerſity. It certainly compriſes a ſurvey of the principal ſubjects, with which the *new Statute* requires them to be acquainted; and if it does not contain notices and liſts of moſt of the books which they muſt neceſſarily reſort to, I muſt confeſs I know not in what Catalogue they are to be found. I wiſh it however to be well underſtood, that this is an accidental purpoſe to which my work is applicable; for I repeat my aſſertion, that the ſubſtance of it has been read to my pupils in the form of Lectures for a conſiderable time paſt; and more than ſix years have now elapſed ſince the general Table of Contents was printed, and diſtributed among my Friends.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
May 12, 1802.

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TO THE

SECOND AND THIRD EDITIONS.

THE very favourable reception which this Work has met with, has encouraged the Author to publiſh a Second Edition, and a deſire to render his deſign more complete has induced him to reviſe the whole, and to make ſome important Additions. As ſome of his Friends, on whoſe judgment he has great reliance, have expreſſed their approbation of the Work, he feels the leſs heſitation in earneſtly recommending it to thoſe, whoſe improvement it is intended to promote.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Auguſt. 1802.

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TO THE

FOURTH EDITION.

THE encreaſing Demand for my Work calls upon me for adequate Endeavours to merit the public Approbation. I have therefore reviſed the whole, and made ſome uſeful alterations and additions.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
May 20, 1803.

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THE

THE

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Levia quidem hæc, & parvi forte ſi per ſe ſpectentur momenti; ſed ex ELEMENTIS *conſtant, ex principiis oriuntur omnia; & ex judicii conſuetudine in rebus minutis adhibita, pendet ſæpiſſimè etiam in maximis vera atque accurata Scientia.*

CLARKE PRÆF. IN ILIAD.

TO ſeparate ſome of the moſt uſeful and the moſt beautiful parts from the great maſs of human knowledge; to arrange them in ſuch regular order, that they may be inſpected with eaſe, and varied at pleaſure; and to recommend them to the careful examination of young men who are ſtudiouſly diſpoſed, conſtitute the deſign of the Author of this work.

It is likewiſe his object to make the moſt uſeful topics of literature familiar and eaſy to general Readers, who have not had the advantage of a learned education.

The more he reflects upon the PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, the VARIOUS FACULTIES of the mind, and the GREAT ADVANTAGES which ariſe from acquiring an AMPLE FUND OF VALUABLE IDEAS,

the more he is convinced of the utility of engaging in the purſuit of general knowledge, *as far as may be conſiſtent with profeſſional views, and particular ſituations in life.*

The cuſtom has prevailed of late years, much more than it did formerly, of introducing young men at an early age into the mixed company of perſons older than themſelves. As ſuch is the reigning mode, they ought to be prepared in ſome degree at leaſt to blend manly and ſerious topics with the ſallies of light and gay converſation. And, in order to be qualified for the introduction of ſuch ſubjects, it ſeems requiſite to unite to the ſtudy of the learned languages other attainments, which have a reference to the ſciences, the works of nature, and the affairs of active life.

The improvements of the times have turned the attention of the learned to new purſuits, and given their conduct a new direction. The Scholar, no longer confined within the walls of a College, as was formerly the caſe, now mixes in general ſociety, and adapts his ſtudies to an enlarged ſphere of obſervation: he does not limit his reading to the works of the ancients, or to his profeſſional reſearches alone; but ſhows his proficiency in the various parts of literature, which are intereſting to the world at large.

The condition of ſocial intercourſe among thoſe, who have had the advantages of a liberal education,

tion, is at preſent ſo happily improved, that a free communication ſubſiſts between all intelligent and well-informed men. The Divine, the Phyſician, the Barriſter, the Artiſt, and the Merchant, aſſociate without reſerve, and augment the pleaſure they derive from converſation, in proportion as they obtain an inſight into various purſuits and occupations. The more ideas they acquire in common, the ſooner their prejudices are removed, a more perfect congeniality of opinion prevails, they riſe higher in each other's eſtimation, and the pleaſure of ſociety is ripened into the ſentiments of attachment and friendſhip. In ſuch parties, where "the feaſt of reaſon and the flow of ſoul" prevail with the happieſt effect, he who unites to knowledge of the world the leading ideas and rational principles, which well-choſen books can ſupply, will render himſelf the moſt acceptable, and the moſt valuable companion.

Such are now the abundant productions of the preſs, that books written in our own language upon all ſubjects whatever are conſtantly publiſhed, and quickly circulate through the whole kingdom. This circumſtance has leſſened that wide and very evident diſtinction, which in former times prevailed between the learned and the unlearned claſſes of the community. At preſent, they who have not enjoyed the benefit of a claſſical education may reap many of the fruits of learning without the labour of cultivation, as tranſlations furniſh them with convenient and eaſy expedients, which can in ſome

meaſure, although an incomplete one, make amends for their ignorance of the original authors. And upon all ſubjects of general Literature, Science, and Taſte, in their actual and moſt highly improved ſtate, they have the ſame means of information in their power with thoſe who have been regularly educated in the Univerſities, and the public ſchools.

Thus favourable are the temper and the circumſtances of the Times to the diffuſion of knowledge. And if the moſt mature and deliberate deciſions of reflection and experience be required to give weight to the opinion, that comprehenſive views of learning and ſcience are calculated to produce the beſt effects upon the mind, reference can be made to both ancient and modern authorities—to writers of no leſs eminence than Quintilian, Milton, and Locke. Their obſervations tend to prove, that cloſe attention to a profeſſional ſtudy is an affair of the firſt importance, but that invariable and excluſive application to any one purſuit is the certain mark of a contracted education. For hence the ſtudent is led to form a diſlike to occupations diſſimilar to his own, and to entertain prejudices againſt thoſe who exerciſe them. He is liable to view mankind and their employments through a wrong and a diſcoloured medium, and to make imperfect, if not falſe eſtimates of their uſe and value. In order to prevent ſuch contractedneſs of diſpoſition, and ſuch errors of judgment, what method can be more efficacious, than

than to open ſome of the gates of general knowledge, and diſplay its moſt beautiful proſpects to his view?

Such Proſpects, diſtinctly and deliberately ſurveyed, will produce the moſt beneficial effects upon his temper and opinions. While they place before him the means of increaſing his information, they will render him a more correct judge of its value, and ſecure him from conceit, affectation, and pedantry. They will render him more capable of appreciating the relative importance and comparative merit of different ſtudies, when referred to the uſe and ornament of life. He will diſcern the natural affinity which ſubſiſts between the different branches of polite literature, and how capable they are of increaſing the influence, and improving the beauties of each other. In ſhort, various purſuits, ſkilfully choſen and aſſiduouſly followed, can give proper activity to every faculty of the mind, inaſmuch as they engage the judgment, the memory, and the imagination, in an agreeable exerciſe, and are aſſociated for one beneficial purpoſe—like the genial drops of rain, which deſcend from heaven, they unite in one common ſtream to ſtrengthen and enlarge the current of knowledge.

By ſtudies thus diverſified, the mind is ſupplied with copious materials for the ſerious reflexions of retirement, or the lively intercourſe of ſociety;

it is enabled, by the combination of many particular ideas, to form thoſe general principles, which it is always eager to embrace, which are of great uſe in the conduct of life, and may prove in every ſituation pleaſing, and advantageous. In ſhort, ſuch a plan is calculated to diſſeminate that knowledge, which is adapted to the preſent improved ſtate of ſociety, to diveſt learning of pedantry, and to afford the ſcholar ſome inſight into the reſearches of the philoſopher, the occupations of the man of buſineſs, and the pleaſures of the man of taſte.

And as the Arts and Sciences beſtow mutual aſſiſtance, and reflect mutual light, ſo are they highly efficacious and beneficial when combined with profeſſional knowledge. To ſome profeſſions indeed they are eſſentially neceſſary, to all they are ornamental. They afford illuſtrations which render profeſſional ſtudies more eaſy to be underſtood, and they furniſh ſupplies, which are conducive to their complete ſucceſs.

Every one muſt allow, that all ſyſtems of Education, if conſtituted upon right principles, ſhould be well adapted to the ſituations of thoſe, for whoſe ſervice they are intended. In ſelecting the topics of the following work, I have therefore conſidered Young Men, with a view to their moſt important relations in life, as CHRISTIANS, as STUDENTS, and as MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

EMPIRE, the welfare and prosperity of which depend upon the usefulness of their attainments, and the respectability of their conduct.

It is evident from general observation, that the principles of religion are congenial with the mind of man: for even among tribes the most barbarous and uncivilized, whether we explore the wilds of Africa, or the shores of the Pacific Ocean, where the capacities of the inhabitants are narrow and limited, and very few virtues are remarked to expand and flourish; some traces of religion, some notions of an Omnipotent and Over-ruling Power, darkened as they may be by gross superstition, are still found to prevail. And even in the civilized country of France, where the impious abettors of the Revolution proceeded so far as to insult the reason of an enlightened people, by compelling them to abjure their faith in their Creator and their Redeemer; how difficult has it been found to produce even external conformity to their decrees; and with what ardour are the people returning to the open profession of Christianity, now their rulers are fully aware of the expediency of its revival and public exercise! It appears therefore, that to inculcate those principles of religious duty, which the mind naturally invites, and to improve its capacity for the reception of the most sublime truths, is no more than a just attention and due obedience to the voice of Nature.

And as the truth of Chriſtianity is founded upon the ſtrongeſt arguments, and unites in the cloſeſt union our public and private, our temporal and eternal happineſs, it juſtly forms the groundwork of Education. The attributes of the great Creator—his power as the Author, and his goodneſs as the Governor of the univerſe—the bright image of the Saviour of the world, as repreſented by the holy Evangeliſts—his actions marked by the pureſt benevolence, his precepts tending immediately to the happineſs of man, and his promiſes capable of exciting the moſt exalted and moſt glorious hopes, are peculiarly calculated to ſtrike the imagination, and intereſt the ſenſibility of youth. Such ſublime topics, inculcated upon right principles, cannot fail to encourage thoſe ardent ſentiments of love, gratitude, and veneration, which are natural to ſuſceptible and tender minds. Since therefore the ſame principles which are congenial with the diſpoſitions of young men are moſt conducive to their happineſs; ſince, in ſhort, the evidences of CHRISTIANITY are miraculous;—ſince it is an expreſs revelation of the will of God, and as ſuch we can have no pretence to reject its proofs, and no right to reſiſt its claims to our obſervance; it muſt be unqueſtionably a ſubject of tranſcendent importance, and therefore ſtands as the *firſt* and *leading* topic of my work.

As the knowledge of LANGUAGE is intimately connected with every other kind of information, and

and as in the Languages of ancient GREECE and ROME are preſerved ſome of the nobleſt productions of human genius, I aſſign to theſe ſubjects the next place.

In recommendation of OUR OWN LANGUAGE it is ſuperfluous to have recourſe to arguments. All who are acquainted with it, foreigners as well as natives, muſt be convinced of its excellence, particularly as it is the vehicle of productions eminently diſtinguiſhed by Genius, Taſte, Learning, and Science.

And as Language ſhould be conſidered not merely as a channel to convey our thoughts upon common occaſions, but as capable of ornament to pleaſe, and of energy to perſuade mankind; and as ſuch improvements are both gratifying and beneficial to ſociety, proper attention is due to the ſtudy of ELOQUENCE.

Cicero, the moſt celebrated of Roman Orators, has very juſtly remarked, that ignorance of the events and tranſactions of former times condemns us to a perpetual ſtate of childhood: from this condition of mental darkneſs we are reſcued by HISTORY, which ſupplies us with its friendly light to view the inſtructive events of paſt ages, and to collect wiſdom from the conduct of others. And as there are particular countries, from which we have derived the moſt important information in Religion, in Arts,

in

in Sciences, and in Literature, we ought carefully to inſpect the pages of their intereſting records.

The moſt ancient people, of whom we have any authentic accounts, are the Jews: to them was communicated, and by them was preſerved, the knowledge of the true God; while all other nations were ſunk in the moſt abject ſuperſtition, and diſgraced by the groſſeſt idolatry.

The writers of GREECE and ROME have recorded ſuch numerous and ſuch eminent inſtances of the genius, valour, and wiſdom of their countrymen, as have been the juſt ſubjects of admiration for all ſucceeding ages; for which reaſon the accounts of THEIR MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS ought to be carefully inſpected before we proceed to ſurvey the HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE, and OF OUR NATIVE COUNTRY.

As Reaſon is the nobleſt faculty of the human mind, it is of the higheſt importance to conſider its proper employment, more eſpecially as upon its co-operation with Religion in controlling the flights of the imagination, and abating the violence of the paſſions, depends the happineſs of life. That ſyſtem of LOGIC, therefore, which conſiſts not in abſtruſe terms, or argumentative ſubtlety, but in the manly exerciſe of the rational powers, juſtly claims an important place in every ſyſtem of education.

The

The various diſcoveries and improvements in SCIENCE and PHILOSOPHY conſtitute a peculiar diſtinction between ancient and modern times. Problems of ſcience, like the arguments of Logic, employ the mind in the moſt vigorous exerciſe of its powers, and confirm the habits of cloſe application, which are eſſentially neceſſary in the proſecution of every kind of ſtudy. Such are the reaſons for introducing and recommending due attention to the principles of the MATHEMATICS.

The human mind, not content with ſpeculations upon the properties of matter alone, delights to ſurvey the wonderful works of the GREAT CREATOR, as diſplayed in the various parts of the univerſe. This employment is a ſource of never-failing ſatiſfaction to perſons of every age. The productions of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms are cloſely connected with the well-being, and are conducive to the ſubſiſtence of man; ſo that NATURAL HISTORY claims his particular attention.

And as the elegant Arts poſſeſs a pleaſing influence over the imagination, and furniſh a conſtant variety of amuſement and pleaſure, it is highly deſirable to examine the principles, and conſider the application of a refined and correct taſte to the beauties of PAINTING, POETRY, and MUSIC.

In the welfare and proſperity of his native country every Briton is deeply intereſted. The two great ſources

ſources of its ſupport, its opulence, and its glory, are AGRICULTURE and COMMERCE; to have a knowledge of their leading principles muſt be allowed to be ſingularly uſeful to an Engliſh Gentleman.

Since it is a prevailing faſhion, particularly among the higher ranks of ſociety, to complete the courſe of education by viſiting foreign countries, it is uſeful to aſcertain the advantages, which may be derived from the practice of TRAVELLING.

As attainments derive their greateſt value from being directed to the purpoſes of active life, the qualifications requiſite for a right conduct in the learned profeſſions of LAW, PHYSIC, and DIVINITY, are taken into conſideration.

And laſtly, to point out the ſources, from which the reader may draw more complete information upon all the preceding ſubjects, the work is cloſed with liſts of THE MOST APPROVED AND INSTRUCTIVE BOOKS.

The *Order*, in which my *Chapters* are diſpoſed, is adapted to the progreſs of the faculties of the mind, from childhood to riper years. The principles of Religion, of Language, and of Hiſtory, are firſt preſented to my Readers; and the elements of Science, Natural Hiſtory, and Taſte, together with the various ſtudies, which relate to the active ſcenes of life, cloſe the volumes of knowledge.

The

The foundation of the building is deeply laid, and compoſed of the moſt ſolid materials; the ſuperſtructure, raiſed to a proper elevation, diſplays ornament, while it is adapted to convenience.

Such is the ſketch of my deſign, in which it is intended to trace the regular progreſs of application, from puerile to manly ſtudies—from elementary knowledge to profeſſional duties. It is ſufficiently finiſhed to ſhew, that the fields of inſtruction are not only fertile, but the moſt various in their productions. Some ſpots bring forth the immortal fruits of Religion, ſome the hardy plants of Science, and ſome the delicate flowers of Taſte. Here then the active temper of youth, and their fondneſs for change, may find ample means of gratification, wherever they chooſe to wander and expatiate. Light purſuits may divert, after ſevere ſtudies have fatigued the mind; and he who has been diligent to peruſe the records of hiſtory, to ſolve the problems of ſcience, or aſcertain the diſtinctions of logic, may find an agreeable relaxation in ſurveying the beauties of nature, charming his ear with the delightful ſtrains of muſic, pleaſing his eye with the fair creations of the pencil, or delighting his fancy with the fictions of poetry.

With reſpect to my choice of books, I wiſh it not to eſcape the obſervation of the reader, that I have rejected ſome works with as much readineſs as I have adopted others. Very few *Novels* will appear in my liſts, as I am well convinced of their pernicious

tendency. If we take the moſt ſuperficial ſurvey of the Circulating Libraries, we may obſerve, that the ingenuity of our own authors is ſufficiently fertile in theſe flimſy and ſhort-lived publications; and yet Germany and France contribute their aid to ſatisfy the craving appetite of the Britiſh public, with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſome of their productions are as popular as our own. It is to be lamented, that *moſt* Novels do no ſmall injury to the cauſe of ſound and wholeſome literature, as well as to that of morality. They vitiate the taſte of their readers, deſtroy their reliſh for uſeful books, and make the facts of hiſtory, and even the deſcriptions of poetry, appear dull and inſipid. It were well if their bad effects terminated at this point: but as they are generally filled with licentious deſcriptions, improbable incidents, falſe ſentiments, and ſuch ſophiſtical arguments, as may ſerve to juſtify the moſt improper actions; they tend to excite a romantic ſenſibility, pervert the judgment of the young and inexperienced, inflame the paſſions, and corrupt the heart.

Let it likewiſe be carefully remarked, that I am under very few obligations to the founders of the new ſchool of *Philoſophiſm* in France. So far indeed from wiſhing to direct the attention of my readers to their works, it is my anxious deſire to caution them againſt the inſidious arts, the flimſy ſophiſtry, and the exceſſive arrogance of the modern French writers, particularly *Voltaire*, *Rouſſeau*, *D'Alembert*, *Diderot*, *Helvetius*, and *Volney*; and their

their admirers and diſciples, *Gibbon*, *Paine*, and *Godwin*. In direct and decided oppoſition to their ſpurious philoſophy, their abuſe of the powers of reaſon, their profligate and deluſive ſpeculations upon the momentous ſubjects of Religion, Morality, and Government, their folly in rejecting whatever is old, and their precipitation in embracing whatever is new, I avow my firm conviction, that there is no greater or more fruitful ſource of miſchief and miſery, than a wild, unreſtrained ardour for innovation: I MAINTAIN THE TRUTH AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION, THE VALUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING, THE DIGNITY OF SCIENCE, AND THE EXCELLENCE OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION. And in order to provide the moſt efficacious antidote againſt the poiſon of their opinions, I recommend an intimate acquaintance with the eminent divines of the Church of England, ſuch as CUDWORTH, BARROW, TILLOTSON, STILLINGFLEET, CLARKE, and PALEY; and with our great philoſophers and moraliſts, BACON, LOCKE, BOYLE, NEWTON, ADDISON, and JOHNSON. Theſe are the authors, whoſe underſtandings I reverence, whoſe opinion, upon the leading ſubjects of Religion and Morality, I highly eſteem, and whoſe excellent works I earneſtly recommend. Theſe are the writers, whom, in decided preference to all arrogant ſcioliſts, and plauſible infidels, I hold up to general attention, as the luminaries of uſeful knowledge, the teachers of genuine wiſdom, and the true friends of mankind.

Such are the inſtructors, by whoſe aſſiſtance the ſtudent is adviſed to extend the ſphere of his application beyond profeſſional knowledge, and to cultivate ſome of the more open fields of uſeful and pleaſing inſtruction.

I conſider myſelf as aſſuming the office of a Guide to the youthful and inexperienced traveller, and as undertaking to point out the intereſting proſpects of a charming country, without aſpiring to the accuracy of a topographer, or the diligence of an antiquarian. I ſhall conduct him, who commits himſelf to my directions, from a low and narrow valley, where his views have been cloſely confined, to the ſummit of a lofty mountain:—when he has reached the proper point of view, he will feel his faculties expand, he will breathe a purer air, enjoy a wider horizon, and obſerve woods, lakes, mountains, plains, and rivers, ſpreading beneath his feet in delightful proſpect. From this commanding eminence, I ſhall point out ſuch places as are moſt deſerving his reſearches; and finally, I ſhall recommend him to thoſe, who will prove more inſtructive, and more pleaſing companions, through the remaining part of his journey.

CLASS THE FIRST.

RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

The Chriſtian Religion.

THE ſeeds of religious knowledge are implanted in our minds during the earlieſt period of our lives. The notions of a Providence, and the various duties which we owe both to God, and to mankind, are inculcated long before our judgments are ſufficiently matured to determine the reaſonableneſs, or eſtimate the utility, of moral and religious truth.

That the conduct of the inſtructors of children, in thus taking advantage of the curioſity and the pliability of the infant mind, is not the reſult of ſuperſtition and credulity, but of good ſenſe, and a proper regard to its beſt intereſts, and moſt valuable improvement, will appear, when the power of judgment is ſufficiently ſtrengthened by time to enable a young man to examine thoſe principles, which he has been taught from his early years to hold venerable and ſacred. To inquire on what account Chriſtianity claims an aſcendency over all other branches of knowledge, and what are the

particular grounds upon which he believes it to be a divine Revelation, is a duty which he owes equally to his own reaſon, and to the dignity and importance of the ſubject itſelf.

"Revelation claims to be the voice of God, and our obligation to attend to his voice is ſurely moral in all caſes. And as it is inſiſted that its evidence is concluſive, upon thorough conſideration of it; ſo it offers itſelf to us with manifeſt obvious appearances of having ſomething more than human in it, and therefore in all reaſon requires to have its claims moſt ſeriouſly examined into."[a]

Such an examination, conducted with that degree of care and attention, becoming the infinite importance of the ſubject, will clearly prove that the Chriſtian Religion conſtitutes the moſt uſeful and the moſt tranſcendent part of our knowledge. It introduces us to an acquaintance with thoſe ſubjects, which are in the higheſt degree deſirable to be known; as it opens the cleareſt proſpect, that man in his preſent ſtate can ſurvey, of that Being, who is the eſſence of all perfection, the centre of infinite excellence, and the fountain of inexhauſtible wiſdom, goodneſs, and power. The knowledge of created beings is low and trivial when compared to this; for however admirable they may be in their conſtruction, however uſeful in their nature and properties, and however ſtupendous in their frame

[a] Butler's Analogy, p. 401.

and

and magnitude, they are ſtill but faint ſhadows and imperfect images of the glory of their Creator. The inſtruction, which the Chriſtian Religion conveys, is not only of the moſt excellent kind, but its acquiſition is above all things to be deſired, eſpecially when we conſider the Almighty, with reſpect to the wonders of his power, and the diſpenſation of his Providence—when we view him by the clear light of the Chriſtian Revelation, not only as the Maker and Governor of the univerſe, but as the Father of the Saviour of the world, whom he commiſſioned to proclaim his divine will, to eſtabliſh the certainty of a future ſtate, and to propoſe everlaſting happineſs to mankind, on condition of faith in a Redeemer, and obedience to his commands.

To know Chriſtianity is therefore both to underſtand what the Supreme Being has revealed for our greateſt good, and to aſcertain what conduct we ought to purſue in order to obtain his approbation and favour. How low therefore muſt the acquirements of learning and ſcience ſink in our opinion, when placed in oppoſition to religious knowledge! But when it forms the baſis, upon which they are built, they derive additional value as well as ſtability from its ſupport; they are conſecrated to the beſt purpoſes, and directed to their moſt ſalutary ends. Much as the knowledge of the ſcholar, and the ſpeculations of the philoſopher may elevate and enlarge the mind, and much as they may improve and adorn it, they extend not our proſpects beyond

the world, they bound our views within the narrow limits of human life. But the knowledge of a Chriſtian takes a more exalted and a more certain aim; it reſpects a degree of felicity, which exceeds our utmoſt powers of conception, and a ſituation of pleaſure and delight without alloy, and without end—It relates to a ſtate of exiſtence, when the ſpirits of the juſt will be made perfect, and the tranſcendent bliſs of angels will be imparted to glorified and immortal man.

Such being the excellence of Chriſtianity, and ſuch the important end, which it propoſes, every perſon, who deſires to be fully acquainted with divine truth, and to build his happineſs upon the moſt ſolid baſis, will take, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, a particular and diſtinct view of its nature and evidences. Then will he avoid the imputation of being a Chriſtian merely in compliance with the prejudices of his parents, or the cuſtoms of his native country; and he will become one in conſequence of a rational preference, and a proper examination [b]. His conviction of its truth will then be

[b] Were a man deſigned onely, like a flie, to buzz about here for a time, ſucking in the air, and licking the dew, then ſoon to vaniſh back into nothing, or to be transformed into worms; how ſorry and deſpicable a thing were he? And ſuch, without religion, we ſhould be. But it ſupplieth us with buſineſs of a moſt worthy nature, and lofty importance; it ſetteth us upon doing things great and noble as can be; it engageth us to free our minds from all fond conceits, and cleanſe our hearts from all corrupt

be ſolid and clear; he will plainly perceive the ſtrength of its foundations, and fully underſtand the extent of its advantages: he will be perſuaded that it bears the character and ſtamp of *divinity*, and that it has every claim to the reception of mankind, which a divine Revelation can *reaſonably* be expected to poſſeſs.

The proofs of the truth of the Chriſtian Revelation are numerous, clear, and concluſive. The moſt obvious and ſtriking are thoſe which ariſe; I. From the AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. II. THE CHARACTER OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR. III. THE PROPHECIES of which he was the ſubject, as well as thoſe which he delivered. IV. HIS MIRACLES. V. THE SUBLIME MORALITY OF HIS PRECEPTS. And, VI. THE RAPID AND EXTENSIVE PROPAGATION OF HIS RELIGION under circumſtances the moſt hoſtile to its advancement.

corrupt affections; to curb our bruti ſh appetites, to tame our wild paſſions, to correct our perverſe inclinations, to conform the diſpoſitions of our Soul and the actions of our life to the eternal laws of righteouſneſs and goodneſs: it putteth us upon the imitation of God, and aiming at the reſemblance of his perfections; upon obtaining a friendſhip, and maintaining a correſpondence with the High and Holy one; upon fitting our minds for converſation and ſociety with the wiſeſt and pureſt ſpirits above; upon providing for an immortal ſtate; upon the acquiſt of joy and glory everlaſting." Barrows Sermons, vol. 1. ſerm. iii. p. 36.

The happy effects that reſult from early religious inſtruction are deſcribed with his accuſtomed eloquence, by Dr. Parr, in his Diſcourſe on Education. See p. 13, &c.

I. *The Authenticity of the Books of the New Teſtament.*

The New Teſtament is the ſource, from which the knowledge of the Chriſtian ſyſtem is derived. That the Goſpels and the Acts of the Apoſtles were written by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, neither Gentiles nor Jews have ever been ſo hardy as to deny. The ſecond Epiſtle of St. Peter indeed, the Epiſtles of St. James and St. Jude, the two Epiſtles of St. John, the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation of St. John, were not received at firſt by all the congregations of Chriſtians. As ſoon however as their authenticity was made known, they were admitted into the Canon of Scripture. That the Goſpels are the ſame in every article of the ſmalleſt importance, as they were when firſt publiſhed by their reſpective authors, there can be no doubt; as they have been preſerved through every ſucceſſive age with the greateſt care. From the time of the Apoſtles to the preſent hour, even thoſe ſects of Chriſtians, that have been the moſt at variance upon other points, have concurred in guarding them with equal diligence, and have held them in equal veneration. The proofs of their genuineneſs are more numerous than can be adduced in favour of any other ancient writings. Every relation of a fact is marked by the moſt exact detail of names, perſons, times, and places, that can in any degree throw light upon the ſubject, and eſtabliſh its truth. The hiſtory, the manners, and the opinions

opinions of the times, as they may be collected from all other accounts, harmonize with the narratives of the facred Writers, and corroborate their general veracity. The Evangeliſts were placed in ſituations the moſt favourable for obtaining complete and authentic information. St. Matthew and St. John, two of the diſciples of our Lord, heard his divine inſtructions from his own mouth, beheld his aſtoniſhing miracles, and attended him during the whole courſe of his miniſtry. They drew their accounts from an intimate knowledge of perſons, and a lively recollection of facts. St. Mark and St. Luke are entitled to all the credit of contemporary Biographers, as they were enabled to trace the truth to its ſource, in conſequence of living in habits of the cloſeſt intimacy with thoſe who had ſeen and converſed with our Lord. Few of thoſe hiſtorians, whoſe works we moſt eſteem, and whoſe fidelity we moſt reſpect, were ſo nearly connected with the ſubject of their writings, or poſſeſſed ſuch ample means of genuine information. Any *one* of the Evangeliſts was perfectly well qualified to record the Hiſtory of Chriſt, and to ſatisfy us as to its truth upon his own credit only; and *all* of them taken together, and combining their accumulated ſtrength, form a body of evidence ſufficient to remove the ſcruples of every candid mind, and to eſtabliſh the truth upon a ſolid and laſting foundation.

We may aſſert with the moſt perfect confidence and truth, that ſo far from there being any traces extant of a Hiſtory of Chriſt and his followers, con-

tradictory to that of the Evangeliſts, there is not a contemporary, or a ſubſequent writer, whether Jewiſh or Pagan, who adverts to the ſubject at all, who does not *confirm* the leading facts of the Goſpel Hiſtory.

The New Teſtament likewiſe contains Epiſtles written by the holy perſons, who were engaged in preaching the Goſpel immediately after the aſcenſion of their divine Maſter. Theſe Epiſtles refer continually to the original facts contained in the Goſpels, and confirm their truth. A perfect harmony of deſign is evident both in the one and the other. They preſcribe the ſame rule of faith.—They inculcate the ſame articles to be believed, and the ſame precepts to be obeyed. They contain many ſtriking references to the labours, which [c] St. Paul, the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles, underwent; and the peculiar energy and earneſtneſs, with which he addreſſed his converts, have all the marks of ſerioufneſs and ſincerity, which can give to any writings whatever the ſtamp of originality [d]. All

[c] See the animated and affecting deſcription of his ſufferings, 2 Cor. xi. &c.

[d] The proofs of the genuineneſs of his Epiſtles deduced from remarkable coincidences, and cloſe though not ſtudied connection with the Goſpel Hiſtory, as well as from alluſions to particular incidents, perſons, times, and places, are ſtated by Dr. Paley, with great preciſion and clearneſs. See more particularly his Horæ Paulinæ, p. 11, 14, 34, 169, 216, 312. A new argument in favour of the Epiſtles is drawn from the erroneous ſubſcriptions to ſix of them, p. 380. He concludes with a ſhort view of the external Evidence, p. 386, 403. And gives ſome ſtriking remarks on the Talents, Character, and Conduct of St. Paul, p. 411.

theſe

theſe Epiſtles, when taken together, are not to be conſidered as compoſing a ſingle evidence only, but as containing diſtinct and independent atteſtations of the truth of Chriſtianity; for it is evident from their contents, that they were written by different perſons, at various times, and upon various occaſions. Even the little circumſtances in which they differ from each other have their uſe, as they tend to prove that there was no plan preconcerted by the writers, with a view to excite wonder, and obtain credit by any ſtudied uniformity of repreſentation.

He who peruſes the Goſpels and Epiſtles with attention, muſt be ſtruck by a *remarkable peculiarity* of narrative and argument, which runs through every part of them. There is no appearance of artifice or duplicity in the ſacred Writers; no endeavour to raiſe the reputation of friends, or depreciate the characters of enemies. There is no effort made to reconcile the mind of the reader to what is marvellous in their narrative; no ſtudied attempt to fire his imagination, or rouſe his paſſions in their cauſe. All is fair, temperate, and candid. Vain, it is true, were the ſearch for thoſe ornaments which diſtinguiſh the claſſical writers: but ſtill in their works there is frequently a pleaſing ſimplicity, and ſometimes a ſublimity of expreſſion, although theſe beauties ſeem rather to riſe naturally out of the ſubject, than to reſult from the labour of compoſition, or any choice or arrangement of words. One circumſtance there is, in which

which the New Teſtament riſes to an elevation, which no other book can reach. Here preſides the majeſty of *pure and unſullied truth*, which ſhines in unadorned but awful ſtate, and never turns aſide to the blandiſhments of flattery, or liſtens to the whiſpers of prejudice, or defamation. Here alone ſhe invariably ſupports the ſame dignified and uniform character, and points with equal impartiality to Peter now profeſſing his unalterable fidelity, and now denying his Lord;—to the Apoſtles at one time deſerting Chriſt, and at another, hazarding their lives by the bold profeſſion of his Goſpel. And theſe plain characters of truth afford the cleareſt evidence of the inſpiration of the ſacred books. The Holy Spirit, whoſe aſſiſtance was promiſed to his diſciples by their heavenly Maſter, guarded them from error in their narratives, in the ſtatement of their precepts, and the developement of their doctrines. Upon ſuch momentous points, as contribute to form an infallible rule and ſtandard of faith and practice, they were guided by the divine wiſdom, and thus are raiſed to a degree of authority and credibility unattainable by all other writers*.

"It doth not appear, that ever it came into the mind of theſe writers, how this or the other action would appear to mankind, or what objections might be raiſed upon them. But without

* See Gibſon's Paſtoral Letters in the Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. iv. p. 255.

at

at all attending to this, they lay the facts before you, at no pains to think, whether they would appear credible or not. If the reader will not believe their teſtimony, there is no help for it; they tell the truth, and attend to nothing elſe. Surely this looks like ſincerity, and that they publiſhed nothing to the world, but what they believed themſelves [f]."

An inquiry into the authenticity of the books of the New Teſtament is of great importance. If they are as ancient as they are reputed to be; if they were certainly written by the perſons to whom they are aſcribed, and have all the requiſite characters of genuineneſs, we may venture to aſſert with confidence, that the facts contained in them are undeniably and ſubſtantially true. For ſuppoſing ſuch actions as have been attributed to Chriſt never to have been performed, ſo great muſt have been the effrontery, as well as the ingenuity, of the fabricators of this impoſture, if they proceeded to publiſh as true what they knew to be falſe, as to exceed the bounds of belief: and if, even for the ſake of argument only, we ſuppoſe them to have combined in a confederacy for ſuch a purpoſe, what would have been the conſequence? They would only have given the deſired advantage to their acute, active, and implacable enemies, who would quickly have detected the falſehood, ſacrificed the abettors of it to their juſt indignation,

[f] Duchal, quoted by Paley, vol. ii. p. 182.

and

and ſtigmatized the Chriſtian Religion for ever as an impoſture and a fable.

In the preſervation of the New Teſtament, we may obſerve a very ſtriking inſtance of the ſuperintendance of divine Providence, ever watchful for the happineſs of mankind. Notwithſtanding the various diſſentions which have continued to prevail in the Chriſtian Church, ever ſince its firſt eſtabliſhment, the Books containing the principles of the Religion itſelf, are come down to us who live at the diſtance of nearly eighteen Centuries from the time of their Authors, in a pure and unadulterated condition: ſo that whenever the Chriſtian faith has been corrupted, its deviation from a ſtate of purity could always be detected by an appeal to the moſt indiſputable authority. Nor has the ſtream of time merely conveyed to us this divine treaſure, uninjured and ſecure; but even in the midſt of the moſt violent perſecutions, and the darkeſt ſuperſtition, the Chriſtian faith has been ſo protected by divine care, that it has never been wholly loſt to the world. The ſpark of heavenly fire, although it has been covered by the aſhes of Error, has ſtill remained alive, and although in the obſcure ages, previous to the Reformation, its light could be with difficulty diſcerned, yet it was always acceſſible to thoſe, who wiſhed to fan it into a flame.

II. *The Character of our Lord.*

This character, as repreſented in the plain and energetic narratives of the Evangeliſts, is marked by

by qualities the moſt extraordinary, and the moſt tranſcendent. Every deſcription of every other perſonage, whether embelliſhed by the fancy of the poet, or pourtrayed by the accuracy of the hiſtorian, leaves it evidently without an equal, in the annals of mankind.

If the conduct of thoſe who bear a reſemblance to Chriſt as the founders of religious eſtabliſhments be examined, theſe aſſertions will receive the fulleſt confirmation. They all accommodated their plans to human policy, and private intereſt—to exiſting tenets of ſuperſtition, and to prevailing habits of life. The Chriſtian Lawgiver, more ſublime in his object, and more pure in his motives, aimed at no recommendation of his precepts by courting the prejudices, or flattering the paſſions of mankind. The inſtitutions of Numa the ſecond King of the Romans, of Brama the Lawgiver of the various tribes of India, and of Confucius the great Philoſopher of China, were evidently adapted to the exiſting habits, and prevailing inclinations of their people. They ſeem indeed to have been founded altogether upon them. Mahomet, the great impoſtor of Arabia, accommodated the rules of his Koran, and the rewards of his paradiſe, to the manners and deſires of a warlike and a ſenſual people. In his character and conduct he preſented a ſtriking contraſt to Chriſt. Ambition and luſt were the reigning paſſions of his ſoul. He maintained, that he received his Koran from heaven: but its frivolous

and abſurd contents ſufficiently indicate the falſehood of his pretenſions. With a degree of effrontery ſtill more impious, he pleaded a divine authority for the boundleſs gratification of his ſenſuality: and unable to appeal to miracles, which give the moſt certain proofs of a teacher ſent from God, he extended his faith by force, and reared his bloody creſcent amid captives, who were the victims of his paſſions, and cities that were deſolated by his ſword[s].

In

s "Mahometaniſm is a borrowed ſyſtem, made up for the moſt part of Judaiſm and Chriſtianity, and, if it be conſidered in the moſt favourable view, might poſſibly be accounted a ſort of Chriſtian Hereſy. If the Goſpel had never been preached, it may be queſtioned whether Mahometaniſm would have exiſted. Its author was an ignorant knave and a fanatic, who had neither ſkill nor genius to form a religion out of his own head." Jortin's Sermons, vol. vii. p. 369.

See Paley's Evidences, vol. iii. p. 70. ſect. ii. Taylor's Moral Demonſtrations, vol. ii. p. 383. and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

The contraſt between our Lord and the Prophet of Arabia is drawn in a ſtyle of ſuch rich and appropriate eloquence by Sherlock, that I cannot deny myſelf the pleaſure of preſenting it to my readers.

"Make the appeal to natural religion, or, which is the ſame thing, to the reaſon of man. Set before her Mahomet, and his diſciples, arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the ſpoils of thouſands and tens of thouſands, who fell by his victorious ſword. Shew her the cities which he ſet in flames, the countries which he ravaged and deſtroyed, and the miſerable diſtreſs of all the inhabitants of the earth. When ſhe has viewed him in this ſcene, carry her into his retirements; ſhew her the prophet's chamber, his wives and concubines;

In the character of Chriſt we behold the moſt complete and prompt reſignation to the will of God. So pure and ſo perfect was the whole tenour of his conduct, as to defy calumny, although it excited jealouſy, and inflamed malice. His moſt bitter and inveterate enemies, even when ſuborned to be his public accuſers, could not make good a ſingle charge againſt his moral character. He was equally free from the ambition of an impoſtor, and the infatuation of an enthuſiaſt; for when the people ſought to place the crown of Iſrael on his head, he conveyed himſelf away by a miracle. Whenever he condeſcended to diſcourſe upon any important point, or to anſwer any objections of his

cubines; let her ſee his adulteries, and hear him alledge revelation and his divine commiſſion to juſtify his luſt and oppreſſion. When ſhe is tired with this ſcene, then ſhew her the bleſſed Jeſus, humble and meek; doing good to all the ſouls of men, patiently inſtructing both the ignorant and perverſe. Let her ſee him in his moſt retired privacies; let her follow him to the mount, and hear his devotions and ſupplications to his God. Carry her to his table, to view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly diſcourſe. Let her ſee him injured, but not provoked. Let her attend him to the tribunal, and conſider the patience with which he endured the ſcoffs and reproaches of his enemies. Lead her to the croſs, and let her view him in the agonies of death, and hear his laſt prayer for his perſecutors; *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!*—When natural religion hath viewed both, aſk her, which is the prophet of God?—But her anſwer, we have already heard, when ſhe ſaw part of this ſcene through the eyes of the centurion who attended at the croſs; by him ſhe ſpoke and ſaid, *Truly this was the Son of God.*" Sherlock's Ninth Diſcourſe, vol. i.

adverſaries,

adverſaries, he overcame their oppoſition with the irreſiſtible power of truth, and his words were the words of unerring wiſdom. Upon all occaſions he diſplayed the ſoundneſs and moderation of calm judgment, and the ſteadineſs of heroic intrepidity. There was no wild enthuſiaſm in his devotions, no rigid auſterity in his conduct, no frivolous ſubtlety or intemperate vehemence in his arguments. Of all the virtues, which adorned his mind, and gave a reſiſtleſs grace and lovelineſs to every action of his life, humility, patience, and the moſt ardent and univerſal love of mankind, were, upon every occaſion, predominant. The perfect benevolence of his character, indeed, is fully evinced by the tendency of his miracles, which, far from being prejudicial and vindictive, were directed to ſome beneficial end. His courage was equally remote from oſtentation and from raſhneſs, and his meekneſs and condeſcenſion never make him appear abject. Tried by the greateſt afflictions of life, aſſailed by hunger, expoſed to poverty, deſerted by his friends, and condemned to ſuffer an ignominious death, he is never degraded; the greatneſs of his character is in no reſpect diminiſhed—he preſerves the ſame air of mildneſs and dignity, and appears in the ſame highly venerable light as the Saviour of the world, who ſubmits to an ignoble ſtation, and conceals his majeſty in an humble garb, for the moſt important purpoſes. It is thus the glorious proſpects of nature are ſometimes enveloped in the miſts of the morning; or the great luminary

luminary of day is deprived of his beams and his brightneſs, by the temporary darkneſs of an eclipſe.

And here let us pauſe to admire the *manner* in which this moſt ſublime of all characters is introduced to us. We are not left to form an idea of it from vague accounts or looſe panegyric, but from actions and events; and this circumſtance proves undeniably the veracity of the Biographers of our Lord. The qualities of his mind are diſplayed by a detail of actions, the more ſtriking as they are more exact. All his actions are left to recommend themſelves by their own intrinſic merit, to captivate by their unaffected beauty, and to ſhine by their native luſtre. The Evangeliſts have no where profeſſedly drawn an elaborate or highly finiſhed character of the Saviour of the world. We are not told in a vague and indefinite manner, that he was eminently bountiful, compaſſionate, or wiſe. It is no where expreſſed in terms of general aſſertion, that he poſſeſſed the greateſt virtues that can adorn and dignify the nature of man; or that he was endued with a power to controul, or to counteract the general laws of nature. But theſe inferences we are fully enabled to draw from regular ſtatements of facts. We learn from lively and affecting anecdotes diſtinctly and circumſtantially related, among many other aſtoniſhing inſtances of his divine power, that with a portion of food, the moſt diſproportionate to their wants, he ſatisfied the hungry multitudes in the wilderneſs, that he

calmed the violence of a ſtorm at a word, and raiſed the ſon of the widow to life[b].

Ignorant and illiterate as the Evangeliſts were, they have drawn a character ſuperior to any that is elſewhere to be met with in the hiſtory of mankind. This character they were no leſs unable than unwilling to invent: the only method of ſolving this difficulty is to acknowledge that they wrote from the immediate impreſſions of reality. They ſaw, they converſed with the Saviour of mankind, and heard from his ſacred lips the words of eternal life. They felt the power of truth upon their minds, and they exhibited it with proportionable clearneſs and ſtrength. To ſtate well-known facts, and record the leſſons of divine Revelation, were the great objects of their labours. Hence they were conſiſtent as well as circumſtantial and accurate; and their uniformity of repreſentation is an additional proof of the *reality* of the perſon deſcribed, as their divine Maſter. Every particular is introduced in an artleſs and undeſigning manner; and this circumſtance itſelf, of not bringing our Lord forward in an oſtentatious point of view, affords a remarkable evidence to confirm the truth of the Goſpels. To complete the perfection of his character, his conduct was the exact counterpart of his inſtructions. He preſented to the world that lively image of moral perfection, which had indeed filled and elevated the imagination of Plato and Cicero; but which they as well

[b] Matt. xiv. Mark iv. Luke vii.

as

as all other ancient philoſophers in the wideſt circle of their obſervation had ſought for in vain[1]. The heavenly Teacher not only ſpoke as never man ſpoke, with reſpect to the ſublime leſſons, which he taught, the lively images, by which he illuſtrated, and the awful and impreſſive manner, in which he inculcated them; but at once to combine the efficacy of example with the perfection of precept, became the unerring guide to all that was pious, all that was good, and all that was truly and intrinſically great.

Preſerving the ſame character of dignity blended with mildneſs and affability, he accommodated himſelf to perſons of every rank and condition. Among the wiſe and the learned, the Doctors of the Sanhedrim, the haughty Phariſees, and the ſceptical Sadducees, how does he ſhine in detecting their malice, confuting their cavils againſt his conduct and precepts, and eſtabliſhing clear and uſeful truths. Among the publicans and ſinners, how does he diſſeminate the pureſt morality without unneceſſary harſhneſs! Among the low and illiterate, the fiſhermen of Galilee and the populace of Jeruſalem, how does he condeſcend to their contracted underſtandings, and adapt his precepts to their habits of life. Even women and children, becauſe conſidered as capable of that inſtruction

[1] Formam quidem ipſam, & tanquam faciem honeſti vides; quæ ſi oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores, ut ait Plato, excitaret ſapientiæ. Cicero de Officiis.

which leads to eternal happineſs, are particularly regarded by the univerſal Teacher of Mankind. *Daughters of Jeruſalem weep not for me, but for yourſelves and your children*, was his benign addreſs, when he wiſhed to turn their attention from his own ſufferings to the impending woes of their country. *Suffer little children to come unto me, for of ſuch is the kingdom of heaven.* In this various accommodation to high and low, young and old, can we be inattentive to a quality of our Saviour's mind, which is peculiarly calculated to attach every feeling heart to his ſervice—do we not remark that he was as *amiable*, as he was great and wiſe?

He who reflects with due attention and reverence upon the dignity, purity, and holineſs of this divine character, will be ſenſible of the great difficulty of doing juſtice to the ſubject, as the Saviour of the world is preſented to our obſervation, in a manner ſo peculiarly ſtriking. The inſpired Apoſtles and Evangeliſts can alone ſatisfy our inquiries concerning him; and every other writer, conſcious of his own incapacity to conceive, and his want of eloquence to deſcribe ſuch unparalleled excellence, muſt point to the lively and expreſſive portrait, which they alone, who ſaw the original, were qualified to draw.

It is reaſonable to expect that ſo extraordinary a perſonage, diſtinguiſhed as he was by every moral and intellectual quality, muſt neceſſarily make his teſtimony

teſtimony concerning himſelf perfectly credible. The poſitive and direct proofs of his divine miſſion are equally founded upon the prophecies, which foretold the moſt remarkable circumſtances of his birth, life, and death, and upon the miracles by which he proved to demonſtration, that he was the promiſed Meſſiah of the Jews, the Mediator of a new covenant between God and man, and a divine Teacher ſent to reform and ſave a guilty world.

III. *The Prophecies.*

The Old Teſtament contains a long ſeries of predictions, which are expreſſed with greater diſtinctneſs, and marked with a more ſtriking and appropriate reference to a particular train of events, in proportion as the Prophets approached more nearly to the time of the Meſſiah. As he was the great object of the general expectation of the Jews, ſo was he the great end of the Prophecies. Sometimes he is ſ[illegible]ourtrayed as the innocent, patient, and unrepining ſufferer, pierced with grief, and ſinking under unmerited calamity for the ſake of mankind; *He was deſpiſed and rejected of men, a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief, who hath borne our ſorrows, and was wounded for our tranſgreſſions*[k]; and ſometimes, with all the fervour and vivid colours of Oriental poetry, are deſcribed his temporal grandeur, the tranſcendent attributes of his divine character, and the glory and eternity of his kingdom.

[k] Iſaiah liii.

His name is called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace[l]. Theſe ſurpriſing intimations that occur in the Prophets of various ages, like rays of light proceeding from different quarters, all meet in the ſame point, and illuminate the ſame object. Here is none of that latitude of interpretation, or ambiguity of expreſſion, in which the oracles of the heathens were conveyed. The hiſtory of Chriſt, as related by the Evangeliſts, may be conſidered as an enlarged and finiſhed copy of the Prophecies, and the Prophecies themſelves as the original ſketches. The proportions and the outlines are uniformly preſerved, and faithfully delineated. The colours indeed are more diſtinct and glowing, the figures have their juſt animation, but ſtill their character and expreſſion are the ſame[m]. Ineffectual have been the endeavours of the Jews to pervert the true meaning of theſe Prophecies; their literal ſenſe is peculiarly applicable to our Lord, and to him alone they muſt neceſſarily be referred. Without miſtaking their object, or perverting their clear and obvious ſenſe, they cannot be applied to any other perſon whatever. Whilſt theſe predictions ſtrike the mind of

[l] Iſaiah ix. 6.

[m] Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ, book ii. ch. v. &c. Paley's Evidences, vol. ii. p. 67. Grotius de Veritate, lib. v. c. 17, 18. Gibſon's Paſtoral Letters, vol. iv. p. 52. of the Enchiridion Theologicum. Jortin's Remarks, vol. i. p. 73, 74. Prideaux's Connections, vol. ii. p. 161. Joſephus de Bello Judaico, lib. vi. c. 4. ſect. 5, 6, 7, 8. compared with the predictions that relate to the Temple, as recorded by the Evangeliſts.

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an attentive reader of Scripture, with various degrees of evidence, there are ſome of them which cannot fail to impreſs him with the fulleſt conviction, as they immediately relate to the miſſion, miracles, and character, as well as the exact time of the coming of Chriſt. Iſaiah and Daniel more eſpecially ſeem rather to deſcribe the paſt as Hiſtorians, than to anticipate the future as Prophets. We know, from the authority of Scripture, that multitudes of Jews, who had diligently ſtudied the Prophecies from their youth, and acknowledged their divine authority, felt the force of their application to our Lord, and were converted to his religion. And not to appeal to other inſtances, we alſo know that the fifty-third chapter of Iſaiah, ſo circumſtantially deſcriptive of the ſuffering Meſſiah, effected the converſion of the Eunuch of Ethiopia, mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and contributed greatly to produce a conviction of the truth of Chriſtianity in the mind of the profligate Lord Rocheſter[n].

[n] This fact is recorded by Biſhop Burnet. "To him Lord Rocheſter laid open with great freedom the tenor of his opinions, and the courſe of his life, and from him he received ſuch conviction of the reaſonableneſs of moral duty, and the truth of Chriſtianity, as produced a total change both of his manners and opinions. The account of thoſe ſalutary conferences is given by Burnet in a book, intituled, Some paſſages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rocheſter; which the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philoſopher for its arguments, and the ſaint for its piety." Johnſon's Life of Rocheſter, vol. iv. p. 6. 12mo.

The books, which contain theſe Prophecies, have been moſt carefully preſerved even by the enemies of Chriſtianity. Such are the Jews, whoſe religious belief is founded upon an acknowledgment of the divine inſpiration of the Prophets. Hence they are undeſignedly the ſupporters of that faith, to which they are confeſſedly hoſtile. A wide difference of opinion has prevailed among them in various ages; for their interpretations of the Prophets, before the coming of the Meſſiah, agreed much better with thoſe of the Chriſtians, than any they have given ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. And it is very much to the purpoſe repeatedly to take notice, that whatever conſtruction they have put upon the *words* of the Prophecies, they have never raiſed any doubt, or brought any arguments to invalidate their *authenticity.*

As the divine miſſion of Chriſt received ſuch ſupport from the Prophecies, of which he was the ſubject; ſo it is very ſtrongly confirmed by thoſe events, which he foreſaw and foretold. He clearly deſcribed the *manner* of his own death, with many particular circumſtances—the *place* where it was ordained to happen—the *treacherous method* by which he was to be betrayed into the hands of the Jewiſh governors, and given up to the Roman power—the *cruel* and *unbecoming treatment* he was to ſuffer, and the *exact period* of time that ſhould elapſe from his death to his reſurrection. Such was preciſely the train of events, as they are related at large by the Evangeliſts, and as thoſe events were atteſted by

by the full acknowledgment and confeſſion of the firſt martyrs, who ſealed their belief with their blood. The Saviour of mankind ſpeaks of future events without heſitation, not as things merely probable, but abſolutely certain. He does not ſhadow them out in vague and ambiguous terms; but marks them in their riſe, progreſs, and effects, in the cleareſt and moſt circumſtantial deſcriptions. The interval, between the prediction and its accompliſhment, ſeems in his view to be annihilated; his penetrating mind pierces the veil of futurity, and the diſtant alluſions of the Prophet are converted into the clear proſpect of the ſpectator. Even at the time when Judea was in complete ſubjection to the Roman power, when a ſtrong garriſon kept its capital in awe, and rebellion againſt their conquerors, who had at that time the empire of the world, appeared as improbable as it was fruitleſs; he deplored the fall of the holy city, and pointed out the advance of the Roman ſtandard, as the token of deſolation, and the ſignal for his followers to ſave themſelves, by flight, from captivity and deſtruction. At the time too when the temple of Jeruſalem was held in the higheſt veneration by all foreigners, as well as Jews, what were the immediate obſervations of our Lord, when his diſciples directed his attention, in terms of wonder and aſtoniſhment, to the vaſt and ſolid materials, of which that magnificent edifice was built? He lamented its approaching fall, and declared in explicit terms, that ſo complete ſhould be its demolition, that not *one ſtone ſhould be left upon another.*

At a time likewiſe when the number of his followers was limited to a few fiſhermen of Galilee, and when he ſeemed deſtitute of every means to accompliſh his purpoſe, he predicted the wide diffuſion of the faith, and expreſsly proclaimed, that before the threatened calamities overwhelmed the Jews, and ſubverted their empire, his goſpel ſhould be preached among all nations*.

The events, which happened about thirty years after the aſcenſion of our Lord, completely verified theſe Prophecies. From the books of the New Teſtament, and particularly from the Acts of the Apoſtles, may be collected the fulleſt inſtances of the diligence and zeal, with which the new religion was in a ſhort time diſſeminated.

But Chriſtians can appeal to an independent train of witneſſes to Jewiſh and to prophane authors, for circumſtantial accounts of the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions. The hiſtorian Joſephus, deſcended from the family, which bore the ſacred office of High Prieſt, a diſtinguiſhed general in the early part of the laſt Jewiſh war, has given a particular and exact confirmation of every circumſtance. With ſingular care he has avoided to mention the name of Chriſt, and yet with ſingular preciſion he has illuſtrated his predictions relative to

* See "Hiſtory the Interpreter of Prophecy," 4th Edit., for the illuſtration of this ſubject at large; a work to which I refer with the leſs reſerve, as the public have received it with approbation.

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the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. The important ſervice he has thus rendered to Chriſtianity is wholly unintentional. What he relates is drawn from him by the power of irreſiſtible truth, and is a teſtimony far ſtronger, and more unexceptionable, than an explicit mention of the name of Chriſt, and a laboured encomium on his words and actions.

The curious details of Joſephus, in his Hiſtory of the Wars of the Jews, are confirmed by Tacitus, Philoſtratus, and Dion Caſſius. It is probable they were all of them unacquainted with the works of the Jewiſh Hiſtorian; and yet they corroborate his account, and all unite to illuſtrate the Prophecies of our Lord.

IV. *The Miracles of our Lord.*

The moſt illuſtrious evidence of the divine origin of Chriſtianity, and that evidence to which its great Author moſt confidently appealed, when called upon to prove the authority of his miſſion, conſiſted in the exerciſe of miraculous powers. The miracles of Chriſt were ſo *frequent*, that they could not be the effects of chance; ſo *public*, that they could not be the contrivance of fraud and impoſture; ſo *inſtantaneous*, that they could not reſult from any preconcerted ſcheme; and ſo *beneficial* in their immediate conſequences, and ſo conducive to propagate the ſalutary truths he taught, that they could not proceed from the agency of evil ſpirits. They muſt therefore

therefore have been effected by the interpoſition of that divine power, to which Chriſt himſelf attributed them. Our Lord did not come according to the expectation of many of the Jews, as the conqueror of their enemies, to diſplay his policy in council, and his courage in the field: but he was inveſted with powers, that enabled him to triumph over the works of darkneſs, and ſuſpend the laws of nature. The frequent and public exerciſe of thoſe powers was eſſential to his character as a teacher ſent from God, ſo that miracles were the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory credentials of his divine miſſion[p].

This divine Perſonage, whoſe manifeſtation to the world was preceded by ſuch a regular train of prophecies; who inſtantaneouſly cured inveterate diſeaſes, and at whoſe word even the dead aroſe; whoſe mind was adorned with conſummate wiſdom, and whoſe conduct was diſtinguiſhed by every virtue; deſcended from heaven to deliver a perfect rule of

[p] "The evidence of our Saviour's miſſion from heaven is ſo great, in the multitude of miracles he did, before all ſorts of people, (which the divine providence and wiſdom has ſo ordered, that they never were, nor could be denied by any of the enemies and oppoſers of Chriſtianity) that what he delivered cannot but be received as the oracles of God." Locke.

"Once believe that there is a God, and miracles are not incredible." Paley's View, vol. i. p. 13. vol. iii. p. 236-7, &c. Jortin's Remarks, vol. i. p. 259—267. Conybeare on the Nature, Poſſibility, and Certainty of Miracles, Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. iii. p. 153.

"All theſe miracles ſpeak more goodneſs than power, and do not ſo much ſurpriſe the beholders, as touch their hearts." Boſſuet, Univ. Hiſt. p. 253.

faith

faith and practice, and taught thoſe important and indiſpenſable leſſons of duty, which are eſſentially neceſſary to the preſent and future happineſs of mankind.

V. *Chriſtian Ethics, Or the Precepts of our Lord.*

The precepts of Chriſtianity form the moſt complete, moſt intelligible, and moſt uſeful ſyſtem of Ethics, or moral philoſophy. The ſtandard of duty, which is ſet up in the Goſpel, is agreeable to our natural notions of the Supreme Being, and is calculated to correct our errors, to exalt our affections, to purify our hearts, and enlighten our underſtandings. The motives, by which Chriſt enforces the practice of his laws, are conſiſtent with the wiſdom of the Almighty, and correſpondent to the expectations of rational beings. He who duly weighs the *effects* of the Chriſtian duties, and remarks how they contribute to reſtore man to the original dignity of his nature, will be led to conclude, that they form an indiſpenſable part of a religion coming from God, becauſe they are in every reſpect conſiſtent with his wiſdom, mercy, and goodneſs.

To view the moral part of the Chriſtian diſpenſation in a proper light, it ought to be compared with the principles of ancient Philoſophy. The ſages of Greece and Rome undoubtedly preſent us with the moſt convincing proofs how far unenlightened

lightened reaſon could advance in the examination of moral obligation, and the diſcovery of the duties of man. But imperfection, if not error, was attached to all their ſyſtems.

If moral wiſdom deſcended from heaven to dwell with Socrates, the moſt enlightened ſage of the heathen world, ſhe quickly caught the contagion of earthly depravity, and forgot her dignity ſo far as to bend at the ſhrine of ſuperſtition. Her dictates were not built upon any certain foundations, or digeſted into a conſiſtent plan. They were diſgraced with falſe notions, intermixed with frivolous refinements, and ſcattered among diſcordant ſects. Each ſect of philoſophers had a different idea of happineſs, and a different mode of inveſtigating truth[1]. Every ſchool was diſtinguiſhed by its particular opinions; and the followers of Plato, Zeno, and Ariſtotle, exerted the powers of their minds, rather to diſplay their ingenuity, than to ſatisfy the inquiries of mankind, as to the nature, the principles, and the end of moral obligation. The powerful influence of example, and the ſtrong and awakening voice of ſome great and divine authority, were requiſite to give to their inſtructions the energy of law. But the moſt material obſtacle to a ready compliance with the dictates of heathen morality, was the want of ſuch *ſanctions* or confirmations by divine authority, as are calculated to hold the mind of man in conſtant obedience, by

[1] See Locke's Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, vol. ii. p. 532. fol.

an immediate appeal to his hopes and fears—to his deſire of future happineſs, and his dread of future miſery in a world to come.

And do we not find, that our holy Religion not only comprehends the beſt precepts of ancient philoſophy in one regular ſyſtem, but adds others which are peculiarly and eminently her own? Certainly. And this ſhews its high degree of perfection. To the Goſpel of Chriſt we are indebted for thoſe rules of conduct, which enjoin the ſacrifice of ſelf-intereſt, ſelfiſh pleaſures, and vainglory. By it alone we are taught in the moſt explicit language, and in the moſt authoritative manner, to check all violent paſſions, and to cultivate the mild and pure affections of the heart, to forgive injuries, to love our enemies, to reſiſt the firſt impulſe of evil deſires, to practiſe humility and univerſal benevolence, and to prefer the joys of heaven to the pleaſures and occupations of the world. Advancing to a degree of improvement far beyond the leſſons of heathen morality, far beyond what was ever taught under the porches of Athens, or in the groves of the Academy; we are inſtructed to entertain the moſt awful veneration for the Deity, and to expreſs the moſt lively gratitude for his mercies;—we are ſupported by the firmeſt reliance on his grace, and we are invited upon all occaſions to reſort in earneſt and fervent prayers to his power, mercy, and goodneſs, for the ſupply of our numerous wants, for the pardon of our ſins, for

ſecurity

ſecurity in the midſt of danger, and for ſupport at the hour of death.

Having a perfect model of virtue in the conduct of our bleſſed Lord ſet before us, and a perfect rule of life propoſed in his divine inſtructions, we are taught to expect that our ſincere endeavours to conquer the difficulties we have to ſurmount in our journey through life will be aided by the divine aſſiſtance; and we are encouraged to hope that by our ſtrenuous and unabated exertions, we may make a much nearer approach to that perfection of character, which reaches "the fulneſs of the meaſure of the ſtature of Chriſt," than it is poſſible for thoſe to do, who act not upon Chriſtian principles[r].

Conſider

[r] "The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our firſt parents, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the neareſt, by poſſeſſing our ſouls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the higheſt *perfection*." Milton.

"And is it then poſſible that mortal man ſhould in any ſenſe attain unto *perfection?* Is it poſſible, that we who are born in ſin, and conceived in iniquity, who are brought forth in ignorance, and grow up in a multiplicity of errors; whoſe underſtandings are dark, our wills biaſſed, our paſſions ſtrong, our affections corrupted, our appetites inordinate, our inclinations irregular—Is it poſſible, that we who are ſurrounded with things themſelves obſcure, with examples evil, with temptations numberleſs, as the variety of objects that encompaſs us—Is it poſſible, that we ſhould make any progreſs towards arriving at perfection? With men

Conſider the precepts of Chriſtianity not by compariſon only with other ſyſtems, but as furniſhing a rule of life. Were the actions of mankind to be regulated by them, nothing would be wanting to render us happy. Peace and harmony would flouriſh in every part of the globe. There would be no injuſtice, no impiety, no fraud, no rapine, no reign of diſorderly paſſions. Every one, ſatisfied with his lot, reſigned to the divine will, and enjoying a full proſpect of endleſs happineſs, would paſs his days in content and tranquillity, to which neither pain nor ſorrow, nor even the fear of death, could ever give any long interruption. Man would renovate his primeval condition, and in his words and actions exhibit the purity of Paradiſe. That ſuch a ſtate, as far as the imperfection of human nature would allow, can exiſt, we truſt that the lives of many Chriſtians, not only of the primitive but of ſubſequent times, can atteſt. Surely ſuch a ſyſtem muſt

men indeed this muſt needs be impoſſible; but with God all things are poſſible. For when we conſider on the other ſide, that we have a perfect rule, and an unerring inſtructor; an example complete as the divine life, and yet with all the condeſcenſions of human infirmity; motives ſtrong and powerful as the rewards of heaven, and preſſing as the neceſſity of avoiding endleſs deſtruction; aſſiſtances mighty as the grace of God, and effectual as the continual guidance of the Spirit of truth; when we conſider this, I ſay, we may then perhaps be as apt to wonder on the other hand, that all men are not perfect. And yet with all theſe advantages, the perfection, that the beſt men ever arrive to, is but in a figurative and very imperfect ſenſe, with great allowances, and much diminution, with frequent defects, and many, very many limitations." Clarke, Sermon cxliv. vol. ii. p. 183. fol. edit.

be tranſcendent in excellence, and bears within itſelf the marks of a divine origin[s]."

The revealed will of God is the proper ſource of moral obligation. It gives life and vigour to the performance of every duty, and without it all ſyſtems of morals are dry, unintereſting, and founded upon no fixed principle of action. How jejune and tedious are the Ethics of Ariſtotle, and the Offices of Cicero, the writings of Puffendorf and Grotius, of Whitby and Hutchinſon, when compared with the ſhort rules, illuſtrated by the moſt pleaſing ſimilies, and animated by the moſt ſtriking examples, with which the Goſpel of Chriſt abounds! His divine leſſons touch the heart by the affecting combination of practice with theory, and even engage the paſſions on the ſide of virtue.

Men who are diſtinguiſhed by great and extraordinary talents are remarked to have uſually a peculiar mode of thinking, and expreſſion. Who-

[s] "From the New Teſtament may be collected a ſyſtem of Ethics, in which every moral precept founded on reaſon is carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection, than in any other of the wiſeſt philoſophers of preceding ages; every moral precept founded on falſe principles is totally omitted, and many new precepts added peculiarly correſponding with the new object of this religion." Soame Jenyns, p. 9.

"In morality there are books enough writ both by ancient and modern philoſophers; but the morality of the Goſpel doth ſo exceed them all, that to give a man a full knowledge of true morality, I ſhall ſend him to no other book, but the New Teſtament." Locke on Reading and Study, vol. ii. p. 407.

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ever examines the diſcourſes of our Lord with care, will find in them a certain character which diſcriminates them from the leſſons of all other moraliſts. His manner at once original and ſtriking, clear and convincing, conſiſts in deriving topics of inſtruction from objects and circumſtances familiar to his hearers. He affects the paſſions, and improves the underſtanding, through the medium of the ſenſes. His public leſſons to the people, and his private converſations to his diſciples, allude perpetually to the *place* where he was, to the *ſurrounding* objects, the *ſeaſon* of the year, or to the *occupations* and *circumſtances* of thoſe whom he addreſſes. When he exhorted his diſciples to truſt in Providence for the ſupply of their daily wants, he bade them behold the fowls of the air, which were then flying around them, and were fed by divine bounty, although they did not ſow, nor reap, nor gather into barns. He deſired them to obſerve the lillies of the field which were then blooming, and were beautifully clothed by the ſame power, and yet toiled not like the huſbandman, whom they then ſaw at work. When the woman of Samaria was ſurpriſed at his aſking her for water, he took occaſion to repreſent his doctrine under the image of living water which flows from a ſpring. When he approached the temple, where ſheep were kept in folds to be ſold for the ſacrifices, he ſpake in parables of the ſhepherd, the ſheep, and the door of the ſheep-fold. At the ſight of little children, he repeatedly deſcribed the innocence and ſimplicity of true Chriſtians. When he cured the man who was born blind, he imme-

diately referred to himſelf, as the light of the world. He often alluded to the occupation of ſome of his diſciples, whom he appointed fiſhers of men. Knowing that Lazarus was dead, and ſhould be raiſed again, he diſcourſed concerning the awful truths of the general reſurrection, and of life eternal[1].

"Many writers upon the ſubject of moral philoſophy divide too much the law of nature from the precepts of Revelation; which appears to me much the ſame defect, as if a commentator on the laws of England ſhould content himſelf with ſtating upon each head the common law of the land, without taking any notice of acts of Parliament: or ſhould chooſe to give his readers the common law in one book, and the ſtatute law in another. When the obligations of morality are taught, (ſays Dr. Johnſon in the Preface to the Preceptor) let the ſanctions of Chriſtianity never be forgotten; by which it will be ſhewn that they give ſtrength and luſtre to each other; religion will appear to be the voice of reaſon; and morality the will of God[2]."

From this view of the ſubject appears the excellence of the morality of the Goſpel, and conſe-

[1] Jortin's Diſcourſes, p. 229. Matt. vi. 26, 28. John iv. 10. x. 1. Mark ix. 37. John ix. 39. Matt. iv. 10. xiii. 47. John xi. 25. For ſome very pleaſing remarks on our Lord's manner of teaching, ſee Dr. Townſon's Diſcourſes, p. 279.

[2] Paley's Preface to his Moral and Political Philoſophy.

quently

quently how unneceſſary it is to reſort to any other ſcheme of Ethics for a rule of action. The various plans of duty, which have been formed excluſive of Chriſtianity, ſeem not to propoſe any *motives* ſufficiently cogent and permanent, to withhold men from the gratification of vicious deſires, and the indulgence of violent paſſions. They muſt therefore give place to a more perfect law, which has the beſt claims to general reception, becauſe it is founded on the expreſs Revelation of the Will of the Creator, and Governor of the world, to his dependent and accountable creatures.

VI. *The rapid and extenſive propagation of the Goſpel at its firſt preaching.*

Of all the proofs, which are adduced to eſtabliſh the truth of Chriſtianity, there is no one more ſplendid, than that which ariſes from the rapid and extenſive propagation of the Goſpel; and this proof will appear very ſtrong if it be conſidered as the fulfilment of a long train of Prophecies. Far from being intimidated by the oppoſition, the enmity, or even the moſt ſevere and bloody perſecutions of a hoſtile world, the Apoſtles readily obeyed the commands of their Divine Maſter, and declined no hardships, and avoided no danger, in order to make proſelytes to the faith. The effect of their labours was in a very ſhort time viſible in every country, to which they directed their ſteps. The rich and the poor, the

learned and the illiterate, the poliſhed natives of Italy and Greece, as well as the rude inhabitants of the moſt uncivilized countries, enliſted under the banner of the Croſs. The moſt ancient and moſt popular eſtabliſhments of religion, which had ever been known in the world, gradually gave way to the new faith. The Greek, the Roman, and the Barbarian forſook their temples, conſecrated by the veneration of ages to idolatrous worſhip, and repaired in crowds to the Chriſtian churches; and at the cloſe of only three centuries from its origin, the faith of the lowly Jeſus of Nazareth was embraced by Conſtantine, the Sovereign of the Roman world, and throughout the wide compaſs of his dominions it was raiſed to the honours of a triumphant church, and to all the privileges and ſecurity of an eſtabliſhed religion.

For the cleareſt proofs of theſe facts we may appeal not only to the animated details of thoſe early Chriſtian Writers, commonly called the Fathers of the Church, who expreſſed themſelves in terms of great exultation at the proſpect of this wide diffuſion of the faith; but to a number of Pagans who were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the Chriſtian cauſe, or were enemies to its advancement in the world. The ſucceſſive accounts of Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Euſebius and Chryſoſtom, who were all eminent writers in the Church, are confirmed by the expreſs declarations of Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny, Lucian and

and Porphyry, all of whom were Pagans, and lived within three centuries from the time of Chriſt.

If the circumſtances of diſcouragement and danger, under which the faith of Chriſt made ſo extraordinary a progreſs, be more diſtinctly enumerated, we ſhall more properly eſtimate the value of the argument drawn from the rapid propagation of Chriſtianity, when it was firſt proclaimed to the world[x].

Moſt of the Apoſtles were not only perſons of low education, ignoble birth, and deſtitute of every diſtinction to recommend them to the notice and favour of the world; but were expoſed to the ſlander and malice of their countrymen, for their attachment to Chriſt, and held in deteſtation by the natives of other places, by reaſon of their Jewiſh extraction and manners. They went forth to diſcharge their duty, as the miſſionaries of their divine Maſter, at a time when the world was enlightened by learning and ſcience; when philoſophy was cultivated in the ſchools of Greece, and

[x] Paley's Evidences, vol. i. p. 30. vol. iii. p. 94. For a conciſe and accurate account of the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and the labours of its firſt preachers, ſee Paley, vol. i. c. 4, 5. He inſtitutes a compariſon between the firſt preachers of Chriſtianity and the modern miſſionaries: from the ſlow and inconſiderable progreſs made by the latter, in compariſon with the rapid and extenſive ſucceſs of the former, he proves the divine origin of their religion. This argument is fully ſtated, and urged with peculiar ſtrength and perſpicuity, vol. iii. p. 50. ſect. 2.

general knowledge was diffuſed over many of the places, which were the principal ſcenes of their labours, ſufferings, and triumphs. The wiles of impoſture, and the artifices of falſehood, could not long have eſcaped the detection of ſuch inquiſitive, intelligent, and enlightened people, as flouriſhed in that age. The Apoſtles and their converts were expoſed to the taunts of deriſion, and the cruelties of perſecution; and they riſked the loſs not only of liberty and character, of friends and relations, but even of life itſelf, for the profeſſion of their new faith. Prieſts, Magiſtrates, and Kings were leagued againſt them, as they were falſely repreſented to be the abettors of dangerous innovations, and the diſturbers of public order and tranquillity. They proclaimed a ſyſtem adverſe no leſs to the eſtabliſhed religion, than to the deareſt hopes of the Jews, as they expected a triumphant Meſſiah from heaven, to deliver them from temporal diſtreſs, and reſtore the glory of their fallen kingdom. They looked with contempt on the diſciples of Chriſt, who had ſuffered the punishment of a common malefactor. When the Apoſtles preached the Goſpel to the Gentile world, they propoſed no union of the principles of Chriſtianity with the rites of Polytheiſm; but, on the contrary, boldly aſſerted the neceſſity of overthrowing every altar of every idol, and of eſtabliſhing the excluſive worſhip of the one true God. Such was the nature of their plain declarations at the particular time, when the people of every country were ſtrongly attached to their ancient and revered eſtabliſhments of religion, which

which charmed the eye with magnificent proceſſions and ceremonies, and gratified the paſſions with licentious feſtivals. Thus the power and authority of the great, the intereſts of the prieſts, the paſſions and prejudices of the bulk of mankind, were all engaged in open hoſtility againſt the preachers of the new religion, and ſeemed for ever likely to exclude the admiſſion of Chriſtianity. But all theſe obſtacles, irreſiſtible as they would have been by exertions merely human, gradually yielded to the unexceptionable teſtimony, which the firſt miſſionaries bore to the character, actions, and reſurrection of their Lord and Maſter,—to the evidence of miracles, which they were enabled to perform,—and to the power of divine truth.

CHAPTER II.

The Subject continued.

THE Chriſtian religion, even attended, as we have ſeen it was, with the moſt ſtriking proofs of its divine origin, was no ſooner proclaimed to the world, than it met with thoſe who cavilled at its doctrines, and oppoſed its progreſs. It was too pure in its nature, and too ſublime in its objects, to ſuit the groſs conceptions of ſome men; and its divine Author erected too perfect a ſtandard of duty to ſuit the depraved inclinations and unruly paſſions of others. We are therefore the leſs ſurpriſed to find, that it has from the earlieſt ages been aſſailed by enemies of every deſcription. As its followers were at firſt expoſed to the ſevereſt trials of perſecution; ſo have they, in ſucceeding ages, been obliged to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of miſapplied learning, and the cavils of ingenious ſophiſtry. Writers neither deſtitute of diligence nor acuteneſs have attempted, in various ages, to acquire reputation in this unhappy cauſe. The moſt prominent and ſtriking circumſtance which muſt be remarked by every candid examiner of their works, from the days of Julian the apoſtate to thoſe of Gibbon the infidel hiſtorian, is; that they have frequently incurred the ſame cenſure, which they have beſtowed with an unſparing

ſparing hand upon others; for at the ſame time, that they have not ſcrupled to reprobate in the ſevereſt terms the intemperate zeal of the advocates for the faith, they have diſplayed as much, or probably more vehemence and pertinacity, in their own cauſe.

In each ſucceſſive age ſince the origin of Chriſtianity, every kind of attack has been levelled againſt it, which the wit of Man could dictate; ſometimes it has been aſſailed by open arguments, ſometimes by diſingenuous inſinuations; frequently has metaphyſical ſubtlety endeavoured to undermine it, and frequently the ſneer of ſarcaſm, and the effrontery of ridicule, have been directed againſt its ſacred inſtitutions, and its moſt ſincere and ſerious profeſſors. But much as unbelievers of every deſcription may have aſſerted their claims to ſuperiority over ignorant minds, or much as they may have imagined they ſoared above vulgar prejudices, they have never remained long unanſwered, or unrefuted. As often as infidelity has waged war againſt the faith, and fought with various weapons, ſo often has ſhe been defeated and diſarmed by able champions of Chriſtianity.

"Whilſt the infidel mocks at the ſuperſtition of the vulgar, inſults over their credulous fear, their childiſh errors and fantaſtic rites, it does not occur to him to obſerve, that the moſt preposterous device, by which the weakeſt devotee ever believed he was ſecuring the happineſs of a future

future life, is more rational than unconcern about it. Upon this ſubject nothing is ſo abſurd as indifference, no folly ſo contemptible as thoughtleſsneſs and levity [x]."

Modern unbelievers may have reaſon to boaſt of the boldneſs of their attacks, but little of the *originality* of their arguments, ſince the cavils of Voltaire [y], and his Followers, newly pointed as they may be with wit, or urged as they may be with additional vehemence, can be traced to Julian, Porphyry and Celſus, the ancient enemies of the church. Some who diſlike the toil of inveſtigating truth for themſelves, eagerly take advantage of the labours of others; and lay great ſtreſs upon the example of thoſe eminent men, who have diſ-

[x] Paley's Moral Philoſophy, p. 391.

[y] "Voltaire's pen was fertile and very elegant, his obſervations are very acute, yet he often betrays great ignorance when he treats on ſubjects of ancient learning. Madame de Talmond once ſaid to him, "I think, Sir, that a philoſopher ſhould never write but to endeavour to render mankind leſs wicked and unhappy than they are. Now you do quite the contrary. You are always writing againſt that Religion which alone is able to reſtrain wickedneſs, and to afford us conſolation under misfortunes." Voltaire was much ſtruck, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying, That he only wrote for thoſe who were of the ſame opinion as himſelf. Tronchin aſſured his friends that Voltaire died in great agonies of mind. "I die forſaken by Gods and Men," exclaimed he in thoſe awful moments, when truth will force its way. "I wiſh," added Tronchin, "that thoſe who had been perverted by his writings had been preſent at his death. It was a ſight too horrid to ſupport."

Seward's Anec. V. 5. p. 274.

believed,

believed, or rather in ſome inſtances perhaps only affected to diſbelieve, the fundamental truths of Chriſtianity. The Chriſtian profeſſes not to deny the force of ſuch an argument, becauſe he is aware, that the weight of authority is very powerful, whether avowed or concealed. It undoubtedly gives a bias to the mind, which is more commonly felt than acknowledged; and it has conſiderable influence in determining the judgment in moſt of the affairs of life. If however this argument be urged in oppoſition to Chriſtianity, fair reaſoning requires that it ſhould be allowed due force in its favour. Aſk the infidel, who are the leaders, under whoſe banners he has enliſted himſelf, and perhaps he will point to Hume, and to Bolingbroke: but ſurely, if even we allow the elegance and acuteneſs of the one, and the florid declamation of the other, all the praiſe they deſerve, they can never bear a competition with thoſe luminaries of ſcience, and thoſe teachers of true wiſdom, who have not only embraced the Chriſtian faith, but maintained its truth and divine origin, and directed their conduct by its rules. They can never be weighed in the balance of merit, againſt the advocates of Chriſtianity, ſo diſpaſſionate, ſincere, ingenuous, and acute, ſo diveſted of all objections, that can be drawn from intereſted attachments, as Milton, Clarendon, Hale, Boyle, Bacon, Locke, Newton, Addiſon, Lyttleton, Weſt, and Johnſon[z].

Ought

[z] The liſt of thoſe on whom *no motive* but a love of truth, and a regard for their own ſalvation, operated to induce them to

Ought not the teſtimony, which ſuch men as theſe have given, to be held in the higheſt eſtimation? A teſtimony founded not upon any ſurrender of their judgments to the prevailing opinions of the day, but upon cloſe and patient examination of the evidences of Chriſtianity, of which their writings give the moſt ſatisfactory proofs. Or are ſuch men to be undervalued, when brought into compariſon with the vaunting infidels of modern times? Where do we find perſons of ſuch profound underſtandings, and inquiſitive minds, as Bacon, Locke, and Newton; where of ſuch a ſublime genius as Milton; where of ſuch various and extenſive learning; exhauſting all the literary treaſures of eaſtern, as well as weſtern literature, as Sir William Jones, who at the cloſe of life recorded his conviction of the truth of divine Revelation, and celebrated the excellence of the holy Scriptures? To compare the race of modern infidels in point of genius, learning, ſcience, judgment, or love of truth;—to compare Voltaire, Hume, Gibbon, Godwin and Paine, with ſuch men as theſe, were ſurely as idle, and as abſurd, as to compare the weakneſs of infancy with the maturity of man-

to embrace Chriſtianity, may be greatly enlarged; more particularly by adverting to many characters of the firſt eminence, diſtinguiſhed in other countries. To the illuſtrious names of Savile, Hales, Seldon, Hatton, Mead, Steel, Dugdale, Nelſon, Littleton, as well as thoſe included in my liſt, may be added thoſe of Salmaſius, Grotius, Montfauçon, Paſcal, Puffendorf, Eraſmus, Monteſquieu, and Haller. I am ſenſible of the great imperfections of this detail.

hood;

raſhneſs, or extreme folly. As their conduct is evidently not dictated by a love of truth, their ſcoffs, their ſarcaſms, and their ſophiſtry, deſerve no attention; and as they not only wantonly reject, but induſtriouſly depreciate the beſt gift of heaven, they ought to be ſhunned, and reprobated, as enemies to the deareſt intereſts of mankind[b].

And they certainly ought to be ſo conſidered, whether we obſerve the baleful influence of their opinions upon our preſent, or our future ſtate. By a ſtrange perverſion of reaſon and argument, ſome of the Philoſophiſts in France, and Godwin in England, have laboured to ſubvert the regular order of nature[c]. Inſtead of repreſenting the exerciſe of the private affections, as preparatory to that of public virtue, they ſet the one in direct oppoſition to the other. They propoſe to build *univerſal philanthropy* upon the ruins of *individual*

[b] "I am no advocate for the abject proſtration of the devotee, or the frantic ecſtaſies of the fanatic. But there is a ſuperſtition, ſays the immortal Bacon, in ſhunning ſuperſtition; and he that diſdains to follow religion in the open and the trodden path, may chance to loſe his way in the trackleſs wilds of experiment, or in the obſcure labyrinths of ſpeculation." Parr on Education, p. 24.

[c] For this train of obſervation I am indebted to "Modern Infidelity conſidered," in a Sermon preached at the Baptiſt Meeting at Cambridge, by R. Hall, A.M. Conſidering the ſound arguments of this writer, recommended by great eloquence and zeal in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, I am inclined to exclaim, "talis cum ſit, utinam *noſter* eſſet." See p. 57, &c.

weapons that cannot be allowed on ſuch occaſions. They employ ridicule inſtead of argument, artful inſinuation inſtead of ſerious diſcuſſion, and bold aſſertion inſtead of proof. They write to the paſſions and imagination, and not to the judgment of mankind. They artfully involve the queſtions relative to the evidences of Chriſtianity in perplexity, and endeavour to throw the blame ariſing from the diſſentions and uſurpations, the vices and ignorance of ſome of the clergy, and the injury, which in dark and ſuperſtitious times was done to the liberties of mankind, upon Chriſtianity itſelf. They ſelect thoſe topics, which can beſt be turned to their purpoſe, by the arts of miſrepreſentation; they embelliſh them with the flowery ornaments of ſtile, and ſkilfully adapt them to the paſſions and prejudices of their readers. As however their conduct is thus artful and inſidious, ſo ought their labours to be vain and unfruitful; for they do not try the cauſe upon its own merits: they do not, like candid and diſpaſſionate reaſoners, ſeparate the ſubject in diſpute from all foreign and extraneous circumſtances: they do not agitate queſtions, and ſtart objections, from a deſire of being well informed: they do not, in the ſpirit of true philoſophy, examine the evidences of Chriſtianity with that becoming ſerioufneſs, which is due to an affair of ſuch infinite importance to the preſent welfare, and future happineſs of mankind: they do not conſider, that the ſame unbelief, if applied to the common records of hiſtory, or the ordinary affairs of life, would expoſe them to the imputation of blind raſhneſs,

raſhneſs, or extreme folly. As their conduct is evidently not dictated by a love of truth, their ſcoffs, their ſarcaſms, and their ſophiſtry, deſerve no attention; and as they not only wantonly reject, but induſtriouſly depreciate the beſt gift of heaven, they ought to be ſhunned, and reprobated, as enemies to the deareſt intereſts of mankind[b].

And they certainly ought to be ſo conſidered, whether we obſerve the baleful influence of their opinions upon our preſent, or our future ſtate. By a ſtrange perverſion of reaſon and argument, ſome of the Philoſophiſts in France, and Godwin in England, have laboured to ſubvert the regular order of nature[c]. Inſtead of repreſenting the exerciſe of the private affections, as preparatory to that of public virtue, they ſet the one in direct oppoſition to the other. They propoſe to build *univerſal philanthropy* upon the ruins of *individual*

[b] "I am no advocate for the abject proſtration of the devotee, or the frantic ecſtaſies of the fanatic. But there is a ſuperſtition, ſays the immortal Bacon, in ſhunning ſuperſtition; and he that diſdains to follow religion in the open and the trodden path, may chance to loſe his way in the trackleſs wilds of experiment, or in the obſcure labyrinths of ſpeculation." Parr on Education, p. 24.

[c] For this train of obſervation I am indebted to "Modern Infidelity conſidered," in a Sermon preached at the Baptiſt Meeting at Cambridge, by R. Hall, A.M. Conſidering the ſound arguments of this writer, recommended by great eloquence and zeal in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, I am inclined to exclaim, "talis cum ſit, utinam *noſter* eſſet." See p. 57, &c.

benevolence, and tell us we muſt love our whole ſpecies *more*, at the ſame time they direct us to love every individual of it *leſs*. In purſuit of this chimerical project, which, to the ſhame and diſgrace of this country, has found advocates in England, as well as in France, gratitude, humility, conjugal, parental, and filial affection, together with all the lovely train of domeſtic virtues, are ridiculed and degraded, as too low and vulgar for the attention of enlightened philoſophers; virtue is confined ſolely to a certain vague and enthuſiaſtic ardour for the general good, and the affections for the ſocial circle in which we live are violently tranſferred to diſtant countries and unknown multitudes. But ſurely it is natural to inquire, when all the common charities are thus deadened and deſtroyed, when the flame that communicates its genial warmth and brightneſs to ſocial life is extinguiſhed, and all the ties that now bind man to man are torn aſunder by the hand of the modern Philoſophiſts—ſurely it is natural to inquire, from whence is this ardent affection for the general good to ſpring? And when they have completed their work of inſenſibility, or rather of infatuation; when they have taught their diſciple to look with perfect indifference upon his neareſt connexions; when he has eſtranged himſelf from his friends, inſulted his benefactors, and ſilenced the voice of gratitude, pity, and charity, will he be better prepared for the love of his ſpecies? Will he become a true philanthropiſt, in proportion as he labours to ſuppreſs the feelings, and neglects

the duties of a parent and a friend? Rather may we not conclude with certainty, that in this attempt to revive a ſpecies of Stoiciſm, and to baniſh all the feelings which ſoften, humanize, and refine our hearts, that ſelfiſhneſs, moroſeneſs, and cold and ſullen apathy will aſſume the empire of the ſoul, and ſink the human character to the loweſt ſtate of degradation and wretchedneſs? Rather may we not be certain, that under pretence of advancing the general and univerſal good—terms that are ſo indefinite as to be almoſt unintelligible, when applied to creatures of limited capacities like man, endued with limited powers, and moving in narrow ſpheres of action—terms belonging to an object to which imagination may give innumerable ſhapes—rather may we not be certain that he will be prepared for the breach of every duty, and the perpetration of every crime? But if thoſe who indulge in theſe wild ſpeculations, and thus ſport with humanity as well as reaſon, were to examine the holy Scriptures, they would perceive that Revelation is in perfect harmony with the order of nature, which inſtructs us by our own feelings, that univerſal benevolence is the laſt and moſt perfect fruit of the ſocial affections. Such is the voice of nature, and ſuch is the principle of ancient philoſophy refined, enlarged, and perfected by Chriſtianity. The ſolid arguments of the great Roman Orator, when reaſoning upon this ſubject, in which he compriſes the wiſdom of all former ages, coincide with the precepts of holy Writ. Thus do Reaſon and Re-

velation unite to confirm the order of Nature, which leads in all things from particulars to generals, from private to public affections, from the love of parents, brothers, and ſiſters, to thoſe more extenſive relations, which, beginning with our native place, extend to our country, and from thence proceeding, comprehend the vaſt ſociety of the human race. An attempt to reverſe this order is as abſurd as to build without a foundation, to expect a copious and perennial ſtream after the ſource of a river has been exhauſted, or to think to attain the height of ſcience, without acquiring the firſt elements of knowledge.

From whatever cauſes the doubts and cavils of modern Infidels ariſe, whether from a deſire to gain the reputation of ſuperior ſagacity, a love of novelty, an ambition to ſoar above vulgar notions, a fear of being thought credulous or ſuperſtitious, or the purſuit of ſuch practices as are inconſiſtent with the purity of the Chriſtian character; it is clear, they are imperfectly acquainted with the real nature of the religion itſelf, and the various proofs by which it is ſupported. They condemn not ſo much what they do not underſtand, as what they do not give themſelves the trouble to inveſtigate. Do they carefully examine the *facts* which had ſuch great influence in attracting the notice of the world to our Saviour? I allude to the *miracles* of various kinds which he wrought; and do they read the accounts of theſe wonderful operations of divine power and goodneſs, with minds diſpoſed to yield

yield to the force of hiſtorical evidence? We read in the awful parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, that the former, when in a ſtate of torment, was deſirous that a perſon might be ſent from the dead for the converſion of his unbelieving Brothers. Is there any Infidel who wiſhes for ſuch a proof of the truth of Chriſtianity? Suppoſe God ſhould grant his deſire, and that in the ſtill and ſolemn hours of the night, *when deep ſleep had fallen upon* the reſt of Mankind, a Spirit ſhould paſs before him, whoſe form he could not diſtinctly diſcern, but which reſembled a lately departed Friend. "Fear would come upon him, and trembling, which would cauſe all his bones to ſhake[d]." Suppoſe there ſhould be profound ſilence, and then a voice be heard, ſaying, I am *come to tell you there is a God—a Heaven and a Hell: forſake your ſins, ere it be too late, and ſeek ſalvation in the Goſpel of Chriſt, or you will periſh for ever.* What effect would this viſion produce? Probably it would terrify the Infidel to death; or ſhould he ſurvive it, and be at firſt deeply impreſſed with the awful circumſtances, it is probable, that the cares and the pleaſures of the world would gradually wear out its impreſſion. As to his ſceptical Friends they would not believe him, they would ſtrive to laugh, or to reaſon him out of his alarms, by repreſenting that all he related was a dream. He would in time begin to think ſo himſelf, and perhaps would ſuſpect that he had been impoſed upon, and ſo would remain

[d] Job iv. 14.

obdurate and unconvinced. As ſuch evidence of the truth of Revelation would be thus ineffectual, ſo is it highly unneceſſary, for no facts recorded in the hiſtory of Mankind are more fully atteſted than the miracles of our Lord. Did he not repair to the Tomb of Lazarus, the Brother of Martha and Mary, who had been dead four days, and in the preſence of many people cry aloud to him to come forth,—and did not the dead Man hear his voice, and live for a long time after*? Our Lord declared repeatedly that he ſhould himſelf riſe from the Tomb. When the appointed hour arrived, was there not a great Earthquake, and did not the Saviour of the World ariſe? Were not theſe things atteſted by Friends, and by enemies, who were all *eye-witneſſes*; and did not the primitive Chriſtians endure every hardſhip, and ſuffer every torment in *proof* of ſuch *facts*? What need therefore can there be of any additional aſſurance? If the Infidel will not believe Moſes and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles; neither will he be perſuaded, *though one came to him from the dead.*

A due attention to ancient hiſtory might have a happy effect in removing many of the doubts of Unbelievers, and preparing the way for their converſion. Let them inquire into the ignorance and depravity of the world, before the coming of Chriſt; the ſuperſtition and the cruelty of Pagan worſhip, and the inſufficiency of philoſophy, as a

* John ii. 12. See Burder's Sermons, XXIV.

guide

guide to moral excellence: let them conſider, whether it was not highly probable, that under ſuch circumſtances an all-wiſe and an all-merciful Being would impart his will to mankind: let them aſk themſelves ſeriouſly, whether it is reaſonable to conclude, that, after ages of ignorance of his true character, this all-wiſe and all-merciful Being would at length fix upon falſehood, and that alone, as they pretend Chriſtianity to be, for the [f] effectual method of making himſelf known to his creatures; and that what the honeſt and ardent exerciſe of reaſon by the wiſeſt men, ſuch as Socrates, Plato, and Cicero, was not permitted to accompliſh, he ſhould allow to be effected by fraud, deluſion, and impoſture. Let them proceed to weigh the *leading facts* attending the riſe of Chriſtianity;—facts that reſt entirely upon independent proofs to eſtabliſh their truth; ſuch as the humble birth of our Lord, the ſublime nature of his Goſpel, abſolutely irreconcilable with the prejudices of his countrymen, and extremely unpalatable to the Gentiles; and more particularly the total want of all human aid to enſure its reception, and promote its ſucceſs: were they to apply their minds ſeriouſly to the ſubject, would they not, we may confidently aſk, find theſe, and many other arguments tending to the ſame point? And might not their curioſity then lead them to extend their reſearches into all its direct and poſitive evidences?

[f] Hall's Sermon, p. 48.

Among other inſtances that might be mentioned, the conduct of the author of "the Free Inquiry into the Origin of Evil" gives us full authority to anſwer theſe queſtions in the affirmative. He has ſtated with great candour the progreſs of his conviction of the truth of Chriſtianity; and makes his acknowledgments in its favour in a manner, which ſhews the ſtrength and the tendency of its evidences, when examined with care and attention.

"Having ſome leiſure, and more curioſity, I employed them both in reſolving a queſtion, which ſeemed to me of ſome importance—whether Chriſtianity was really an impoſture, or whether it is what it pretends to be, a revelation communicated to mankind by the interpoſition of ſupernatural power? On a candid inquiry, I ſoon found that the firſt was an abſolute impoſſibility; and that its pretenſions to the latter were founded on the moſt ſolid grounds. In the further purſuit of my examination, I perceived at every ſtep new lights ariſing, and ſome of the brighteſt from parts of it the moſt obſcure, but productive of the cleareſt proofs, becauſe equally beyond the power of human artifice to invent, and human reaſon to diſcover. Theſe arguments, which have convinced me of the divine origin of this Religion, I have put together, in as clear and conciſe a manner as I was able, thinking they might have the ſame effect upon others; and being of opinion, that if there were a few more true Chriſtians in the world, it would be beneficial

beneficial to themſelves, and by no means detrimental to the public [s]."

The excellence of Chriſtianity appears in nothing more than that in proportion to the care with which its ſacred oracles are examined, the more ſtrongly does the light of its truth ſhine upon the mind. The progreſs of Infidelity, and the apoſtaſy of multitudes, naturally awaken our concern, and make us more than uſually ſolicitous to caution the riſing generation againſt the errors of thoſe, who wiſh to miſlead them. But is there any circumſtance in theſe awful "ſigns of the times," that ſhould ſhake our faith, or excite our ſurpriſe, as if the *preſent criſis* was peculiarly alarming and unexpected? The attentive reader of the holy Scriptures may ſafely reply in the negative; ſince the actual condition of the world is preciſely ſuch as revelation gives us reaſon to expect. All the circumſtances that mark the character and the conduct of Infidels; their turn for ridicule; their folly, and impatience of reſtraint; their licentiouſneſs of conduct, and inſatiable appetite for change; the ſnares they lay to catch the unwary; and their vain profeſſions to free the world from ſlavery, whilſt they are themſelves the captives of ſin, are drawn by the pencil of Prophecy, with ſuch clearneſs and accuracy, that no one can miſtake the reſemblance.

[s] Soame Jenyns's View of the internal Evidence of the Chriſtian Religion, p. 190.

In

In the Epiſtles of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Jude, you may read an exact anticipation of that modern Philoſophiſm, which was ordained to agitate and afflict the world, in theſe "latter" or "laſt times." And thus, by examining the Prophetic Word of God, and comparing it with the preſent ſtate of the world, you increaſe the Evidences of Chriſtianity. The Free-thinkers of England, the Philoſophiſts of France, and the Illuminati of Germany, the diſciples of Bolingbroke, Voltaire, and Weiſhaupt, confirm the divine origin of the Scriptures, which they reject, and accompliſh in a moſt exact and wonderful manner, the predictions which are the ſubjects of their contempt and ridicule[1].

"The probability that the Goſpel may be true, is inferred from the utter improbability that it ſhould be falſe. It is like nothing of human contrivance. The perfection of its morality tranſcends the beſt efforts of human wiſdom: the character of its Founder is far ſuperior to that of a mere man; and it will not be ſaid, that his Apoſtles can be compared to any other fiſhermen, or any other teachers, that ever were heard of. The views diſplayed in the Goſpel of the Divine diſpenſations, with reſpect to the human race, are ſuch as before the commencement of our Saviour's miniſtry had never entered into the mind of man. To believe all this to be a mere human fable requires a degree

[1] See the "Interpreter of Prophecy," Vol. II. for a particular account of their pernicious errors.

of

of credulity, which, in the ordinary affairs of life, would do a man little credit; it is like believing, that a firſt rate ſhip of war might have been the work and the invention of a child[1]."

I. *The Benefits reſulting from Chriſtianity.*

Let the ſincere inquirer after truth turn with averſion from ſuch deluſive guides, as the Infidel writers either of ancient or modern times, and conſider what are the benefits, which the prevalence of Chriſtianity has actually conferred upon the world; and let him carefully eſtimate what permanent and ſubſtantial good, by the influence of its precepts, and the fulfilment of its promiſes, it is able at all times to produce.

The Chriſtian Religion has triumphed over thoſe practices, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions, which in ancient times were a diſgrace to the character of man. It has ſoftened the horrors of war, and alleviated the treatment of priſoners. It has vindicated the rights of nature, by aboliſhing the cruel practice of expoſing infants; and it has raiſed the character and the importance of women in ſociety, and given greater dignity, permanency, and honour to the inſtitution of marriage. It put a ſtop to the combats of gladiators, the favourite and barbarous amuſement of the Romans; it baniſhed the impure

[1] Beattie's Evidence of the Chriſtian Religion, v. i. p. 86.

conduct

conduct that diſgraced the worſhip of the Pagan Deities, as well as totally extinguiſhed the worſhip itſelf. It has abridged the labours of the maſs of mankind, and procured for them one happy day in ſeven for the enjoyment of repoſe, and attention to the exerciſes of public devotion. All Chriſtian countries, and more eſpecially our own, abound with eſtabliſhments for the relief of ſickneſs and poverty, and the maintenance of helpleſs infancy, and decrepid age. It has triumphed over the ſlavery, that prevailed in every part of the Roman Empire, and purſues its glorious progreſs, in the diminution of a ſimilar ſtate of miſery and oppreſſion, which has long diſgraced the European character in the Weſt Indies.

Thus has it in its general and combined effects exalted the character of man, by engrafting the pureſt affections, and the moſt ſacred duties upon the ſtock of his natural deſires, and moſt powerful inſtincts. It has provided the means of eſtabliſhing a perfect harmony between the ſenſibilities of his nature, and the convictions of his reaſon, by the Revelation of its divine truths.

And, not to expatiate upon its mild and ſalutary effects upon the temper, the paſſions, and the general conduct of millions, who, although their names were never recorded in the pages of hiſtory, were more worthy and honourable members of ſociety, and are infinitely more deſerving the approbation of mankind, than all the ancient heroes who have ſought renown

renown by war, or all the modern ſceptics who have aſpired to fame by their oppoſition to the faith; we may enumerate, in addition to its extenſive and various improvements, the refinement it has given to *manners*, and its beneficial influence upon the public judgment of *morals*. Mankind, no longer left a prey to ignorance, or to looſe and fluctuating opinions, are furniſhed with a guide, to which they can always reſort, for principles of religion and rules of conduct. Hence the moſt illiterate and humble members of the Chriſtian Church can form more true and accurate notions of the Deity, his attributes and providence, as well as a more rational notion of moral obligation, of virtue, and vice, and the final deſtination of man, than was ever reached by the ancient ſages in the brighteſt days of Heathen Philoſophy.

Chriſtianity, far from being calculated for any political conſtitution in particular, is found to proſper and flouriſh under *every form* of government; it corrects the ſpirit of democracy, and ſoftens the rigour of deſpotic power. An enlargement of mind, and ſuperior intelligence, diſtinguiſh in a peculiar manner thoſe nations that have embraced the faith, from thoſe extenſive portions of mankind, who fight under the banners of Mahomet, or adhere to the more pacific Inſtitutes of Brama and Confucius. The inhabitants of the Eaſt groan under the oppreſſions of arbitrary power, and little can their religion contribute to alleviate the weight of their chains. The Mahometans more eſpecially are marked

marked by peculiar ignorance; and ſo far are they from being diſtinguiſhed by the light of ſcience, or the cultivation of uſeful knowledge, that they rarely adopt any foreign improvements, and even ſmother in its birth the ſpirit of liberal inquiry and reſearch[k].

To Chriſtian nations belong the excluſive cultivation of learning and ſcience, and the moſt aſſiduous advancement of every uſeful and ornamental art. By them every faculty of the ſoul is called forth into action; no torpid indolence ſtops the bold career of their genius, or reſtrains the patient and effectual operations of their induſtry. Since the purity of religion was reſtored by the Reformation, every part of Chriſtendom has caught the flame of emulation; general knowledge is widely diffuſed, and the character of a Chriſtian, and more particularly that of a Proteſtant, is marked by a ſuperior improvement of the intellectual powers.

II. *The Church of England.*

Our Church, which ſtands at the head of the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhments, was, by the favour of divine Providence, purified from the corruptions of the See of Rome in the reign of Henry VIII. Her courageous and enlightened Reformers threw off the yoke of Papal ſupremacy and ſuperſtition, re-

[k] White's Bampton Lect. Serm. ix.

vived

vived the lively image of the primitive Eſtabliſhment, and reſtored the modes of worſhip, that had prevailed in the pureſt times of Chriſtianity. This conformity has been celebrated by its own members at home, and its admirers abroad, as its moſt illuſtrious and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. The fundamental Articles of her Faith are ſtrictly conſiſtent with Scripture; her ſacred edifices, diveſted of the gaudy decorations of Popiſh temples, are furniſhed only with thoſe appendages which give dignity to public worſhip. Her devotional exerciſes, not confined to a foreign tongue, but intelligible to all, may be fairly pronounced ſuperior to all other ſacred compoſitions of human origin, for ſimplicity of language, fervour of piety, and evangelical tenour of ſentiment. The orders of the Prieſthood, deriving their origin from the Apoſtles themſelves, are confirmed by the earlieſt uſage, and are recommended by the great utility of clerical ſubordination. The Conſtitution of the State, in return for the alliance which it has formed with the Church, derives from the aſſociation additional ſecurity for the obſervance of the laws, and the preſervation of order. The unmoleſted profeſſion, and open exerciſe of their own particular worſhip, are allowed to Diſſenters of all denominations. The prudent toleration, with which they are indulged, equally avoids the extremes of perſecution, which cuts aſunder the ties of charity, and of that unbounded freedom, which may convert religion into an engine of political miſchief. Thus deſervedly renowned for her inſtitutions, and her modes of worſhip, the Church

of

of England is as favourable to the cultivation of the mind, as to the advancement of pure Chriſtianity; and the zeal of her ſons for the promotion of her intereſts has never been more conſpicuous, than their learning, their talents, and their virtues.

Concluſion.

To the prevalence of Chriſtianity, the ſtudy of its records, and the inſtitutions and eſtabliſhments to which it gave riſe, modern times are indebted for the preſervation of the invaluable remains of Grecian and Roman literature. When the barbarians of the North, and the Eaſt, and the Mahometans of the South, overſpread the provinces of the Roman Empire, the city of Conſtantinople, where we may recollect the Chriſtian Religion had been firſt ſupported by Imperial authority, preſerved its inhabitants from that general ignorance which overſpread the reſt of the world. During the dark ages, the light of learning, however feeble, was ſtill kept burning in monaſtic cells; the Latin language, into which the Scriptures were tranſlated, was cultivated; and the precious remains of claſſical genius eſcaped the ravages, to which every other ſpecies of property was expoſed by the ferocity and violence of a barbarous people. From theſe repoſitories, happily ſecured from deſtruction by the ſuperſtition of the times, they were drawn at the revival of learning; and the ſervice which they have afforded to the human mind has not been confined

confined to its reſearches into philoſophy, ſcience, and literature, but extended to ſacred criticiſm, and the illuſtration of the Scriptures.

As Chriſtianity is thus auſpicious to the cultivation of the intellectual powers, as well as beneficial in its moral effects, it deſerves the firſt attention of the ſtudious. The duties which it preſcribes indeed are admirably calculated to produce that docile temper and ſoberneſs of thought, thoſe habits of perſeverance and patient inveſtigation, which are abſolutely neceſſary in the purſuit of general knowledge. Religion ſtamps its juſt value upon all other attainments, and conſecrates them to the beſt and moſt noble ſervice. It aſſerts its own glorious and tranſcendent ſuperiority, becauſe it confines not its reſearches to objects of immediate utility only, but elevates our thoughts to heaven, and carries on the mind to the growing improvement of its faculties, throughout the infinite ages of eternity [1].

Such are the reaſons for our urgent importunities to our young readers, to lay the foundations of

[1] To that elevation of mind above the common events of life, whether proſperous or adverſe, which Chriſtianity is capable of inſpiring, may be applied the noble deſcription of Claudian:—

Fortunæ ſecura nitet, nec faſcibus ullis
Erigitur, plauſuve cupit clareſcere vulgi:
Nil opis externæ cupiens, nil indiga laudis;
Diviſiis animoſa ſuis, immotaque cunctis
Caſibus, ex alta mortalia deſpicit arce.

 their

their lives on the firm ground of Chriſtian faith, and build upon it whatever is juſt and good, worthy and noble, till the ſtructure be complete in moral beauty. "The world, into which you are entering, lies in wait with a variety of temptations, Unfavourable ſentiments of religion will ſoon be ſuggeſted to you, and all the ſnares of luxury, falſe honour, and intereſt, ſpread in your way, which are too ſucceſsful, and to many fatal. Happy the few that in any part of life become ſenſible of their errors, and with painful reſolution tread back the wrong ſteps, which they have taken! But happieſt of men is he, who by an even courſe of right conduct from the firſt, as far as human frailty permits, hath at once avoided the miſeries of ſin, the ſorrows of repentance, and the difficulties of virtue; who not only can think of his preſent ſtate with compoſure, but reflects on his paſt behaviour with thankful approbation; and looks forward with unmixed joy to that important future hour, when he ſhall appear before God, and humbly offer to him a whole life ſpent in his ſervice[m]."

Let me then continue moſt ſeriouſly to exhort you, *my young Readers*, to liſten with all earneſtneſs to the ſacred words of the great Founder of our holy Religion. Attend with mingled ſenſations of delight, gratitude, and reverence, to the revelation of the Divine will, which he deſcended from heaven to promulgate. The duties, which you

[m] Archbiſhop Secker's Sermons.

owe to your Maker, to mankind, and to yourſelves, are ſtated with full authority, and explained with the utmoſt perſpicuity, in the inſpired Writings of his Evangeliſts and Apoſtles. In them you find that the Saviour of the world has illuſtrated his divine precepts by the moſt pleaſing and ſtriking examples, has enforced them by the moſt awful ſanctions, and recommended them by the bright perfection of his own conduct. There he has unfolded the great myſtery of redemption, and communicated the means, by which degenerate and fallen man may recover the favour of his offended Maker. There he gives a clear view of the divine adminiſtration of all human affairs: and there he repreſents this mortal life, which forms only a part of our exiſtence, as a ſhort period of warfare and trial. He points to the ſolemn ſcenes, which open beyond the grave; the reſurrection of the dead, the laſt judgment, and the impartial diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments. He diſplays the completion of the divine mercy and goodneſs in the final eſtabliſhment of perfection and happineſs. By making ſuch wonderful and intereſting diſcoveries, let him excite your zeal, and fix your determination to adorn the acquirements of learning and ſcience with the graces of his holy Religion, and to dedicate the days of health and of youth to his honour and ſervice. Amid the retirement of ſtudy, or the buſineſs of active life, let it be your firſt care, as it is your *duty*, and your *intereſt*, to recollect, that the great Author and Finiſher of your faith has placed the rewards of virtue beyond the reach of

time and death; and promiſed that eternal happineſs to the faith and obedience of man, which can alone fill his capacity for enjoyment, and alone ſatisfy the ardent deſires of his ſoul.

CLASS THE SECOND.

LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

Language in general.

THE principles and characteriſtics of Language render it a ſubject of pleaſing and uſeful inquiry. It is the general vehicle of our ideas, and repreſents by words all the conceptions of the mind. Books and converſation are the offspring of this prolific parent. The former introduce us to the treaſures of learning and ſcience, and make us acquainted with the opinions, diſcoveries, and tranſactions of paſt ages; by the latter, the general intercourſe of ſociety is carried on, and our ideas are conveyed to each other with nearly the ſame rapidity, with which they ariſe in the mind. Language, in conjunction with reaſon, to which it gives its proper activity, uſe, and ornament, raiſes man above the lower orders of animals; and, in proportion as it is poliſhed and refined, exalts one nation above another in the ſcale of civilization and intellectual dignity.

Inquiries into the nature of any particular Language, if not too abſtruſe and metaphyſical, are ſubjects of pleaſing and uſeful ſpeculation. So cloſe is the connection between words and ideas, that no learning whatever can be obtained without their aid and interpoſition. In proportion as the former are ſtudied and examined, the latter become clear and complete; and according as words convey our meaning in a full and adequate manner, we avoid the inconvenience of being miſunderſtood, and are ſecure from the perplexity of doubt, the errors of miſconception, and the cavils of diſpute. It muſt always be remembered, that words are merely the *arbitrary* ſigns of ideas, connected with them by cuſtom, not allied to them by nature; and that each idea, like a ray of light, is liable to be tinged by the medium of the word through which it paſſes. The volumes of controverſy which fill the libraries of the learned would have been comparatively very ſmall, if the diſputants who wrote them had given a clear definition of their principal terms. Accurate definition is one of the moſt uſeful parts of logic; and we ſhall find, when we come to the examination of that ſubject, that it is the only ſolid ground upon which reaſon can build her arguments, and proceed to juſt concluſions.

In order that the true ſenſe of words may be aſcertained, and that they may ſtrike with their whole force, derivation muſt lend its aid to definition. It is this which points out the ſource from whence a word ſprings, and the various ſtreams of ſignification

ſignification that flow from it. The ſtudent, while employed in tracing the origin of Language, and aſcertaining its ſignification, will reap great advantage from calling *hiſtory* to his aſſiſtance; and he will find that alluſions, idioms, and figures of ſpeech are illuſtrated by particular facts, opinions, and inſtitutions. The cuſtoms of the Greeks throw light upon the expreſſions of their authors; without ſome acquaintance with the Roman laws, many forms of expreſſion in the Orations of Cicero are unintelligible; and many deſcriptions in the Old and New Teſtament are obſcure, unleſs they are illuſtrated by a knowledge of eaſtern manners. Furniſhed with ſuch aids, the ſcholar acquires complete, not partial information; throws upon Language all the light that can be reflected from his general ſtudies; and imbibes, as far as a modern can imbibe it, the true and original ſpirit of ancient authors.

As long as any one confines his ſtudies ſolely to his native tongue, he cannot underſtand it perfectly, or aſcertain with accuracy its poverty or richneſs, its beauties or defects. He who cultivates other languages as well as his own, gains new inſtruments to increaſe the ſtock of his ideas, and opens new roads to the temple of knowledge. He draws his learning from pure ſources, converſes with the natives of other countries without the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, and ſurveys the contents of books without the dim and unſteady light of tranſlations. He may unite the ſpeculations of

a philoſopher with the acquirements of a linguiſt; he may compare different tongues, and form juſt concluſions with reſpect to their defects and beauties, and their correſpondence with the temper, genius, and manners of a people. He may trace the progreſs of national refinement, and diſcover, by a compariſon of arts and improvements with their correſpondent terms, that the hiſtory of Language, inaſmuch as it developes the efforts of human genius, and the riſe and advancement of its inventions, conſtitutes an important part of the hiſtory of Man.

I. *Theories of the Origin of Language.*

Various theories have been formed to account for the origin of language, which, however ingenious, are far from being ſatisfactory. The celebrated author of the Wealth of Nations ſuppoſes "two ſavages, who had never been taught to ſpeak, and who had been bred up remote from the ſocieties of men, would naturally begin to form that language, by which they would endeavour to make their ſentiments intelligible to each other, by uttering certain ſounds, whenever they meant to denote objects." Thus they would begin to give names to things, to claſs individual objects under a ſpecies, which they denoted by a common name, and proceed gradually to the formation of all the parts of ſpeech[a].

[a] Conſiderations concerning the firſt formation of languages, in Smith's Theory of moral Sentiments, vol. ii. p. 403.

The

The condition of theſe two ſavages is wholly imaginary, as it cannot apply to any perſons, who have ever been known to exiſt.—It may fairly be aſked, how they came into ſuch a ſtate? Was it in conſequence of their own previous determination? If it was, then they muſt have converſed, in order to make ſuch an agreement. If it was not the reſult of ſuch a meaſure, they muſt have been placed there by other rational and talking beings, and muſt conſequently have acquired from them the names, which in their recluſe condition they applied to the ſurrounding objects. If they borrowed the terms from others, then of courſe the hypotheſis of a language, conſidered as an invention of the ſavages themſelves, falls at once to the ground.

Some inſtances, it may be granted, have been reported of perſons, who have been found in a wild ſtate, without education or the uſe of ſpeech: but no accurate and well-authenticated account is given of the exact time of life, when they were firſt placed in ſuch a ſtate, or of their manner of living. Upon ſuch weak principles, therefore, no argument can be eſtabliſhed to confirm the truth of the hypotheſis.

The theory of Lord Monboddo, embelliſhed as it is by quotations from ancient authors, and ſupported by plauſible arguments, is liable to ſimilar objections[o]. He ſuppoſes, that language was not originally natural to man, and that the *political*

[o] Origin of Language, vol. i. p. 514. 545. 626. vol. iv. p. 50.

ſtate

ſtate of ſociety was neceſſary for its invention. This principle forms the baſis of his elaborate work on the origin and progreſs of language. He aſſerts that man in his natural ſtate is a wild animal, without language or arts of any kind. To prove this point, he cites the opinions of Lucretius and Horace, who deſcribe the human race as firſt riſing from the earth, mute and ſavage, and living for ſome time in a ſtate of war, before the invention of arts and the eſtabliſhment of laws introduced the improvement of manners. He quotes deſcriptions from the works of Diodorus Siculus, Leo Africanus, and other writers. But in the whole detail of his authorities, there is not one ſtrong and well atteſted fact, that is ſtrictly and indiſputably to his purpoſe. The vague and fanciful deſcriptions of poets cannot be admitted as proper evidence in ſuch a caſe. The accounts of Diodorus Siculus, and the other writers whom he preſſes into his ſervice, are taken from the reports of credulous travellers. Some of them are not to the purpoſe; in many of the others are circumſtances highly improbable, or evidently falſe. Some of the deſcriptions are not ſufficiently accurate to enable us to aſcertain, whether the beings, that were obſerved by travellers to live in a wild ſtate, were really men, or inferior animals. Lord Monboddo is aware that the arguments of Rouſſeau, founded upon the principle that there could be no ſociety without language, preſs with great force againſt his whole ſyſtem. To what inſtances then has he recourſe to extricate himſelf from the difficulty? Not to an example taken from

a race

a race of men poſſeſſing the faculty of reaſon, and the organs of ſpeech; but from the beavers of Canada, and the foxes of the river Danaſtris! When he ought to adduce inſtances of *men*, he produces thoſe of *inferior* animals; and his deſcriptions of them are ſo extraordinary, that they are entitled to very little credit. When he ſpeaks of ſociety, he certainly muſt be underſtood to mean only the ſtate of ſuch creatures, as, deſtitute of the organs of ſpeech, herd together merely as they are impelled by the force of inſtinct. Such a ſtate is more properly to be called *gregarious*, than *ſociable*: becauſe to the latter term is always applied ſome idea of a diſpoſition to converſe, and to communicate thought, which is totally inconſiſtent with the nature of any beings, not endowed with the faculty of ſpeech.

How the original ſocieties of men could have been formed without the aid of language, or language invented without ſociety, are points which the diſquiſitions of theſe writers, however ingenious, are far from enabling us to ſettle. The only rational and ſatisfactory method of ſolving the difficulty is to refer the origin of ſpeech to the great Creator himſelf. Not that it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe, that he inſpired the firſt parents of mankind with any particular original or primitive language; but that he made them fully ſenſible of the power with which they were endued of forming articulate ſounds, gave them an impulſe to exert it, and left the arbitrary impoſition of words to their own choice.

choice. Their ingenuity was left to itſelf to multiply names, as new objects occurred to their obſervation; and thus language was gradually advanced in proceſs of time to the different degrees of copiouſneſs and refinement, which it has reached among various nations.

This theory is conformable to the deſcription given in the Sacred Writings, and agrees very remarkably with the opinions to be collected from prophane hiſtory. Plato maintains that the original language of man was of divine formation; and when he divides words into two claſſes, the primitive and the derivative, he attributes the latter to the ingenuity of man, and the former to the immediate communication of the Supreme Being. The Egyptians, from whom this opinion was probably derived, maintained that by Thoth, the god of eloquence, their anceſtors were at firſt taught to articulate [p].

To

[p] Dr. Johnſon talking of the origin of language ſaid, "It muſt have come by inſpiration: a thouſand, nay a million of children could not invent a language. While the organs are pliable, there is not underſtanding enough to form a language; by the time that there is underſtanding enough, the organs are become ſtiff. We know that after a certain age we cannot learn to pronounce a new language. No foreigner, who comes to England, when advanced in life, ever pronounces Engliſh tolerably well; at leaſt ſuch inſtances are very rare. When I maintain that language muſt have come by inſpiration, I do not mean that inſpiration is required for rhetoric, and all the beauties of language; for *when once man has* language, we can conceive that he may gradually

To whatever part of the globe we direct our view, we ſhall find additional reaſons to conclude, that all the languages now ſpoken in the world were derived originally from one and the ſame ſource, notwithſtanding their apparent difference and variety. When we remark certain words in Latin, that reſemble others in Greek, we are not ſurpriſed, conſidering the intimate connexion which ſubſiſted between the two nations, and the evident derivation of the former from the latter. It is natural to ſuppoſe that the modern tongues were derived from the ancient, which were ſpoken in the ſame country. Thus all the preſent languages and dialects of Europe, amounting to about twenty-ſeven, may be traced to the *Latin*, *Teutonic*, and *Sclavonian*. But when we obſerve that certain words uſed in one quarter of the globe are like thoſe in another which is very remote, and that ſuch words have exactly the ſame ſignification, and were ſo uſed long before the preſent inhabitants had any intercourſe with each other, how is this to be accounted for? And whence ariſes the affinity in ſome remarkable inſtances between the Greek and Hebrew, Greek and Sanſcrit, Greek and Chineſe, Engliſh and Arabic, Turkiſh and Celtic, Welſh and

gradually form modifications of it. I mean only that inſpiration ſeems to me to be neceſſary to give man the faculty of ſpeech; to inform him that he may have ſpeech; which I think he could no more find out without inſpiration, than cows or hogs would think of ſuch a faculty." Boſwell's Life of Johnſon, vol. iii. p. 460.

Arabic,

Arabic, Latin and Otaheitan, Latin and Turkiſh, and Engliſh and Perſian?

For the anſwers to theſe queſtions, I ſhall confine myſelf principally to ſuch words as run through a variety of the languages I have mentioned: and ſeveral of theſe words certainly have the better claim to being reputed of very high antiquity, if not antediluvian, becauſe it is ſo extremely difficult to trace any modern intercourſe, ſufficient at leaſt to eſtabliſh imitation, between the nations that uſe them.

I. The word *ſack* has undergone little variation in languages either ancient or modern. שק Hebrew, σακκος Greek, *ſaccus* Latin, *ſack* Teutonic, Gaelic, and Welſh, *ſacco* Italian, Portugueſe, and Spaniſh, and *ſac* French.

II. *Carim* in Turkiſh, like *carus* in Latin, ſignifies *beloved*, יקר Hebrew, pretioſum, carum eſſe. *Caru* in Welſh is to love; and καρδια, and χαρις in Greek, and *cor* in Latin, are from the ſame original root.

III. *Dant* in Welſh is a tooth, in Indian *dandon*, in Latin *dentem*, in Greek οδοντα, in Dutch *tant*, in Turkiſh *diſch*, in Saxon *ſhan*, in German *zan*, in Hebrew שן.

IV. *Bod* is Welſh for a manſion, in Perſia and India the ſame notion is expreſſed by *abad*, hence the Egyptian, Phrygian, and Macedonian *abydos*; in Engliſh it is *abode*, *abide*, *bed*, *booth*, Saxon *biden*. The word itſelf in Welſh is *byd*.

V. *Mars* is derived from the Oriental word *Mar* a lord, hence *mayor*, and *major*. The Greek Αρης, from which the Latin is certainly taken, is from the Celtic *Ar*, clades. It is curious to obſerve, that in the Otaheitan, a prince or chieftain is *Aree*.

VI. *Hen*

VI. *Hen* old in Celtic, is the Highland *ſean*, the Chineſe *chan*, pronounced *ſhan*, the Latin *ſenex*, זקן ſenuit.

VII. *Cano* in Latin is in Welſh *canu*. In Arabic *cainat* is a ſongſtreſs, Heb. קנרה *canna* quâ agricolæ canere erant ſoliti.

VIII. Some Turkiſh and Tartarian words are allied to the Celtic. The Turkiſh *er*, the Tartarian *firs*, the Latin *vir* is the Celtic *ur*, and *gur*, a man.

IX. *Man* as the name for a Being is to be found under ſome form in a great variety of languages in the ſeveral branches of the Teutonic, Gothic, Saxon, German, Runic, &c. in the Greek μανης ſervus, and in the Latin *homin*is; it exiſts in *fœmin*a and wo*man*. In Sanſcrit *Maan*-ooſho is a man.

X. *Can*is a dog, in Greek κυων, is in Chineſe *keuen*.

XI. *Tor* is a word extending to many languages, and conveying the ſame radical idea: it ſignifies high rock, or ſummit. *Tor* Saxon a high pointed rock, or ſummit. Pliny ſays, that the *Tor*-etæ inhabited the top of Cape Cronea—hence το ορος, mons, and the land *Tyra* in Egypt. From Tor comes Mam*tor* in Derbyſhire, and *Tor*bay in Devon, and Gibral*tar*, which is a Mooriſh name. Chi*tor* is a city on a high hill in India: *Tau*rus is the largeſt mountain in Aſia; *To*rus a mountain in Sicily, near Agrigentum. Greek τυρις and τυρσις circuitus muri; *turris* Latin, מירד Chaldaic, ædes, palatium; טור, a mountain, *tower*, Engliſh.

Not only the conſtruction and formation of the Engliſh and Perſian languages are remarkably ſimilar; but there are many words wholly or nearly alike. Thus *ſukar* is ſugar, *ſhireen* a ſyren, *bad* bad; *burden* to bear, *peeri* a fairy, *biden* to be, *buſs* a kiſs, *peer* an old man, *teer* or *tear* moiſt, *doo* two, *pahar* four, *lib* a lip, *jamin* jeſſamine, *beſt* beſt, the ſuperlative of good; *ſemiſeer* a ſcymeter, *nam* a name, *to* thou; *oe* he, *ain* or *ein* the eye, *eiſar* eaſy [d], &c. &c.

[d] Browne's Sketches, vol. i.

XII. Words

XII. Words which denote numerals are very ſimilar in a variety of languages. Take for examples *one* and *four*; *one* in Engliſh is *unus* in Latin, ἑν Greek, *an* Saxon, *an* Gothic, *ein* German, *een* Dutch, *uno* Italian and Spaniſh, *un* French, *aon* Iriſh and Gaelic, *un* Welſh, *Unyn* Corniſh, *Unan* Armoric.

XIII. *Four*, in the language of the Gipſies, is *ſtaur*, Latin *quatuor*, Greek τεσσαρες, French *carre* and *quatre*, Engliſh *ſquare*, Perſic *chuhaur* and *chaur*, Welſh *pedwar*, Gothic *fidwer*, and among the Eolians πετορες. The mode of reckoning by tens is common to moſt languages, ancient and modern.

XIV. There is the ſame reſemblance with reſpect to the name of the Supreme Being. *Deus* is δευς in Eolic, *Theth* among the Egyptians was the name of their god Mercury, and anſwers to ΘΕΟ. *Woth* and *guoth* in the Teutonic is good. *Deus* in Welſh is *Duw*, at Mangalor *Deu*, in Cambaia Maha *Deu* is magnus Deus. At Mexico *Teu*, Iriſh *Dia*, in St. Kilda *Tia*, in China, *Ti* or *Tia*. The ſounds of *d* and *t* are very much alike, and the letters are frequently changed for each other.

XV. The term which denotes Death is in many languages of equal or perhaps greater extent. *Mors* Latin, in Greek μορος is fate, Hebrew מות to die, in Perſian *mor* is death, *murden* is Turkiſh for moni, *mir* Arabic, at Surat *mor* is to kill, in Celtic *marw* to die, in the Oſchian tongue *mard* is death, and in Iſlandic *mord* ſignifies the ſame as our word, which is probably of Saxon origin, *murder*. More remarkable than all is the Otaheitan *Moray*, which ſignifies a ſepulchre.

XVI. Words which expreſs near degrees of relationſhip extend very widely. *Father* in Engliſh, in Saxon is *ſader*, in German *vater*, in Belgic *vader*, in Iſlandic and Daniſh *ſader*, in Latin *pater*, and in Greek πατηρ: in Perſian it is *pader*, in Sanſcrit *peetre*. In like manner may be traced אבא *Papa*, *Abbot*, *Pope*, &c.

XVII. *Mother* is in Greek μητηρ, in Latin *mater*, in Saxon

Saxon *mother*, *meder*, *medder*, in German *mutter*, *muoter*, *muder*, in Spaniſh and Italian *madre*, in Daniſh *moder*, Dutch *moeter*, Perſian *mader*, and in Sanſcrit *matree*. *Mam*, one of the earlieſt words pronounced by Engliſh children, is Welſh for a woman's breaſt, Latin *mamma*: from giving ſuck a nurſe in Welſh is called *mammaeth*; a mother *mam*, and *mamma*; in Arabia and in Lapland it is *am*, in Hebrew אם. The Hindoos ſay *mamma* Havah, for mother Eve.

XVIII. *Brother*, *frater*—Gothic *brothar*, Daniſh *broder*, Sclavonian *bratr*, Perſian *burauder*, Galic *brathair*, in Iriſh *bratair*, Welſh *brawd*.

XIX. The *moon*—German *mond*, Daniſh *mone*, Greek *mene*, Belgic *mane*, Saxon *maen*, Laponic *manna*, Arabic *manah*, Perſian *mah* or *maw*; then, by the change of *m* for *l*, which is very common, in Latin it is *luna*, in Sclavonian *luna*, in Iriſh *luan*, in Celtic *lun*, in Greek ſe-*lene*, in Gaul *elane*, in Welſh *lhoer*, Armoric *loar*, and in Corniſh *lur*, Hebrew לבנה. The white of the moon.

XX. Ἀστηρ in Greek, a ſtar, in Latin *ſtella*, τελλω orior Heb. הילל lucifer; in French *eſtoile* or *etoile*, in Perſic *ſter*, hence *Eſter*, *Eaſter*; and the Phenician *Aſtarte* in India is *ſtarra*.

XXI. Water in Welſh is *dur*, and ſo it is in Iriſh; in the Phrygian language it is *ydor*: what is this but ὑδωρ Greek, *water* Engliſh.

XXII. *Wine*—*vin* French, *vino* Ital. Spaniſh, and Portugueſe; *vinum* Latin, οινον, accuſative, Greek, יין Hebrew, *givin* Welſh.

I could ſhow the coincidence in many more points between Greek and Sanſcrit, between the dialect of the Hebrides and the remote language of China: I could perhaps aſcertain the exiſtence of many Celtic and Egyptian words in China,

which prove the ancient connexion between the original families of the earth, the immediate deſcendants of Japhet and Ham the Sons of Noah: but the limited nature of my plan makes it neceſſary to refer ſuch of my readers as are deſirous of purſuing this curious inveſtigation, to the learned works of Sammes, Pezron, Junius, Skinner, and Parkhurſt;—to Rowland's Mona, and Williams's Primitive Chriſtianity.

This identity or reſemblance more or leſs exact of names which denote the ſame ideas, and thoſe ideas ſome of the moſt ſtriking and important to mankind in every age of ſociety, ſeems to point to the ſame ſource. It ſeems highly probable therefore, that one original fountain of ſpeech, and one only, has produced not only thoſe various ſtreams of diction, ſuch as the Celtic, that have been long dried up; but ſupplied thoſe likewiſe, ſuch as the languages of modern Europe, that ſtill continue to flow. Hence the accounts recorded by Moſes of the primeval race of men ſpeaking one language, and their ſubſequent diſperſion in conſequence of the confuſion of tongues which took place at Babel, receives ſtrong confirmation. Theſe are facts which furniſh the beſt reaſon for the uniformity we have noticed, and they could not, on any other principle, be accounted for, in a manner ſo ſatisfactory to reaſon, or ſo conſiſtent with the tenor of ancient hiſtory.

Language

Language kept pace with the progreſs of invention, and the cultivation of the mind urged mankind to the increaſe and improvement of the ſounds, by which its dictates were communicated to the ear. From denoting the perceptions of ſenſe, they proceeded to repreſent by words the inſtruments and operations of art, the flights of fancy, the deductions of reaſon, and the reſults of obſervation and experience. Hence may be traced the progreſs of poetry, hiſtory, and philoſophy. Thus oral expreſſion, from being in its early age the child of neceſſity, became the parent of ornament; and words, originally the rude and uncouth dreſſes of ideas, have been improved, as ſociety has advanced to higher degrees of refinement, into their moſt ſplendid and moſt beautiful decorations.

II. *Origin and Progreſs of Letters.*

To fix the fleeting ſounds as ſoon as they are breathed from the lips, and to repreſent ideas faithfully to the eye as ſoon as they are formed in the mind, by certain determinate characters, are the wonderful properties of letters. Thoſe to whom books have from their childhood been familiar, and who view literature only in its preſent advanced ſtate of improvement, cannot form a juſt eſtimate of the difficulties that attended the firſt application of ſymbols or ſigns to the expreſſion of ideas. The pictures of the Mexicans, and the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, were without doubt very ingenious devices, and mark the various

various efforts which human ingenuity can make towards expreſſing what paſſes in the mind, by objects of ſight: but it comes not within the province of the art of painting to repreſent a ſucceſſion of thoughts; and its operations are very tedious and circuitous; ſo that ſuch a mode of information is very ill adapted to the activity and the variety of mental exertions. The great excellence of letters conſiſts in their ſimplicity; by a ſmall number of characters, repeated and variouſly combined, all words are expreſſed with equal preciſion and facility. They poſſeſs a decided advantage over all other artificial vehicles of thought, by communicating with the utmoſt eaſe the various conceptions of the mind. By their aſſiſtance in carrying on epiſtolary correſpondence, the warm effuſions of affection and friendſhip are conveyed even to the moſt remote countries; and the conſtant intercourſe of commerce, ſcience, and learning, is maintained in defiance of all the obſtacles of diſtance[c]. Learning is indebted to

[c] The application of letters to ſome of the moſt important affairs of life is touched upon with great elegance by Palamedes, a Hero in the Trojan war, who claims the invention.

Τα της γε λήθης φαρμακ' ορθωσας μονος
Αφωνα κ' φωνοῦντα συλλαβας τιθεις,
Εξευρον αυθρωποισι γραμματ' ειδεναι.
Ως' ου παροντα ποντιας ὑπερ πλακος
Τακει κατ' οικους παντ' επιστασθαι καλως,
Παισιν τ' αποθνησκοντα χρηματων μετρον
Γραψαντα λειπειν, τον λαβοντα δ' ειδεναι.
Α δ' εις πιπτουσιν ανθρωποις κακα
Δελτος διαιρει· κ' ουκ εα ψευδη λεγειν.

Euripid. Fragment. Edit. Barnes, p. 487.

letters

letters for its diffuſion and continuance, and to them genius and virtue owe the rewards of laſting fame. Oral tradition is fleeting and uncertain: it is a ſtream, which, as it inſenſibly flows into the ocean of oblivion, is mixed with the impure ſoil of error and falſehood. But letters furniſh the unſullied memorials of truth, and impart to ſucceſſive generations the perfect records of knowledge. They conſtitute the light, glory, and ornament of civilized man; and when the voice of the philoſopher, the poet, and the ſcholar, and even the ſacred words of the Redeemer of mankind himſelf, are heard no more, letters record the bright examples of virtue, and teach the ineſtimable leſſons of ſcience, learning, and revelation to every age, and to every people.

We cannot fail to obſerve the great variety in the modes of writing, which prevail in different parts of the world. Some nations, as the Chineſe, place their letters perpendicularly, and write from the top to the bottom of the page. The greateſt number have followed the movement of the hand from left to right, which to an European appears moſt natural and eaſy: accordingly all the weſtern nations place their letters in this order. On the contrary, it was the prevailing cuſtom of the Eaſt, particularly of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Arabians, and Hebrews, to purſue the oppoſite practice, and write from right to left.

Theſe various modes of arrangement may give ſome plauſibility to the opinion, that each particular

people were the inventors of their own alphabet. A preſumption ſo favourable to national vanity has accordingly prevailed, as the Egyptians attributed the origin of their letters to Mercury, the Greeks to Cadmus, and the Latins to Saturn. This opinion aroſe from the high reputation acquired by thoſe who firſt introduced, or made improvements in, the graphic art. For it ſeems highly probable, that all the alphabets now known and uſed, were originally derived from one and the ſame ſource, and were brought, at various periods of time, into different countries.

Can any two ſetts of letters appear to the eye more diſſimilar, than the *Hebrew* and the *Engliſh*? Yet it is highly probable, that the latter were derived from the former. And if we attend to the ingenious arguments of Bp. Warburton, we may carry the origin of letters higher than to the Jewiſh nation, and refer them to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. He ſtates, upon the authority of ancient writers, that throughout many of the early ages of the world, there was a regular gradation of improvement in the manner of conveying ideas by ſigns—that pictures were firſt uſed as the repreſentatives of thoughts, and in proceſs of time alphabetical characters were ſubſtituted, as an eaſier and more compendious mode of communication, than the vague uſe of arbitrary marks[f]. Moſes, the great lawgiver of the Jews, brought letters with the reſt of

[f] Divine Legation, v. ii. p. 387, &c.

his

his learning from Egypt; and he ſimplified their forms, in order to prevent the abuſe to which they would have been liable, as ſymbolical characters, among a people ſo much inclined to ſuperſtition as the Jews. From the Jews this alphabetical mode of writing paſſed to the Syrians and Phœnicians, or perhaps was common to them all at the ſame time. The Greek authors maintained that Cadmus and his Phœnician companions introduced the knowledge of letters into Greece. Herodotus records the curious fact that he ſaw at Thebes in Bœotia, in the temple of Apollo, three tripods inſcribed with Cadmeian letters, which very much reſembled the Ionic. It is too well known to require any detail of proof, that the Romans were taught their letters by the Greeks. Tacitus has remarked the ſimilarity of the Roman character to the moſt ancient Greek, that is, the Pelaſgic; and the ſame obſervation is made by Pliny, and confirmed by the inſcription on an ancient tablet of braſs, dedicated to Minerva. By the Romans their alphabet was communicated to the Goths, and the nations of modern Europe. And if evidence to this detail of external proofs be wanted, the curious may furniſh themſelves with very ſufficient arguments, in the authentic inſcriptions of antiquity which time has ſpared, by conſidering attentively the order, the names, and the powers of the letters in the ſeveral alphabets juſt mentioned; and by examining in the learned works of Montfaucon, Shuckford, and Warburton, the characters themſelves, how they have gradually been altered, and have deviated

viated from the firſt forms through ſucceſſive changes, previous to their aſſuming the ſhapes and figures under which they at preſent appear[g].

III. *Characteriſtic Diſtinctions between ancient and modern Languages.*

The formation of the modern languages of Europe is intimately connected with the hiſtory of the dark ages. The Latin language began to be corrupted in the fifth century, as ſoon as the Goths and Lombards, both of whom derived their origin from Germany, had gained poſſeſſion of Italy. From the reign of Theodoric and Athalaric, who laboured to ſoften the rough manners of the Goths by the refinements of learning, the Italian language gradually aſſumed its form and character; and its deviation from the Latin was particularly marked by the uſe of articles inſtead of the variations of caſes, and of auxiliar verbs inſtead of many changes of tenſes.

In proportion as the Goths made more ſucceſsful and extenſive ravages in the Roman empire, their phraſeology was blended with that of their captives, and the coarſe dialect of Provence and Sicily contributed many ingredients to the compo-

[g] Stillingfleet, v. i. c. i. ſect. 20. Shuckford's Connections, v. i. p. 223. Mitford, v. i. p. 88. Herodotus, l. v. Terpſich. ſect. 58, 59. p. 306. edit. Gronov. Taciti Ann. l. xi. Plinii Nat. Hiſt. l. vii. c. lviii. Goguet's Origin of Laws, v. i. p. 177.

ſition

ſition of the Italian language; in the ſame manner as the fuſion of the precious and baſer metals at the conflagration of Corinth is ſaid to have produced the valuable mixture, which derives its name from that celebrated city. As in the features of the Italian ladies, the curious traveller may now diſcern a ſtriking likeneſs of the faces engraved on antique gems; ſo in the language of that country, he may diſcover a ſtrong reſemblance to the original from which it is derived. If it wants the ſtrength and majeſty of the Latin, it inherits that delicacy and melodious flow of expreſſion, which never fail to charm every reader of taſte, in the works of Dante, Arioſto, Petrarch, Machiavel, Algarotti, and Metaſtaſio. It is the ſingular glory of Italy, that while the early poets and hiſtorians of France and England are become in a great meaſure obſolete, her writers, who flouriſhed ſo early as the fourteenth century, are read with the faſhionable authors of the preſent times, and ſhare their popularity and applauſe.

In the fifth century, the Franks, a people of Germany, under the command of Pharamond, invaded France, and conquered its ancient inhabitants, the Celts and Romans. By a mixture of the dialect of theſe people the French language was formed, which gradually poliſhing the rude expreſſions and uncouth phraſeology obſervable in its firſt writers, has acquired in later times a great degree of preciſion, delicacy, and elegance.

Between

Between the languages of Greece and Rome, and thoſe of modern times, a very remarkable difference prevails. The prepoſitions of the latter ſupply the place of the caſes of the former; and as theſe prepoſitions are of a very abſtract and general nature, they ſhew the progreſs of the moderns in metaphyſical reaſoning. Auxiliary verbs are uſed inſtead of many of the ancient tenſes: theſe forms of expreſſion contribute greatly to ſimplify modern languages, in point of rudiments and firſt principles, and conſequently render them more eaſy to be acquired. Still however they are ſubject to faults, which nearly counterbalance their excellence; for they are weaker in expreſſion, leſs harmonious and agreeable to the ear, and, as the conſtruction of the words neceſſarily fixes them to particular ſituations in a ſentence, they are leſs adapted to the uſes of poetry.

Another very remarkable diſtinction prevails in *poetry*. Thoſe effuſions of fancy which the moderns expreſs in rhyme, the ancients conveyed in metre. In the claſſic authors, the quantity of words is fixed, the various combinations of long and ſhort ſyllables give a pleaſing variety to pronunciation, both in proſe and verſe, and render every word more diſtinct and harmonious to the ear. Rhyme was the invention of a dark and taſteleſs age, and is generally thought, when it predominates in the poetry of a language, as it does in the French, to indicate a want of ſtrength and ſpirit. It is the glory of the Engliſh language to

to be capable of ſupporting blank verſe; which the French, from its want of energy and vigour, cannot admit even in tragic compoſition.

Rhyme is frequently the ſource of redundancy and feebleneſs of expreſſion; as even among the moſt admired writers inſtances frequently occur of the ſenſe being ſo much expanded, as to be on that account extremely weakened, becauſe the poet is under the neceſſity of cloſing his couplets with correſponding ſounds. The tranſlation of Homer by Pope, and of Virgil by Dryden, afford ſtriking proofs of the truth of this obſervation. The verboſe paſſages in many of the fineſt tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, ariſe from the ſame cauſe. In rhyme the ſenſe is uſually cloſed with the firſt line, or at leaſt with the ſecond. This produces a tedious uniformity, which is particularly unpleaſing to thoſe, whoſe ears are accuſtomed to the varied periods of the claſſic authors. Rhyme appears not ſo well adapted to grand and long, as to gay and ſhort compoſitions. Its perpetual repetition in the Henriade of Voltaire is tireſome: in the ſtanzas of the Fairy Queen of Spencer its recurrence, although ſtated and uniform, is more tolerable, becauſe the pauſes are more varied: but it certainly is of all compoſitions beſt ſuited to the lively turn of an epigram, and the ludicrous deſcriptions of a mock-heroic. As a proof how little rhyme can contribute to the eſſential beauties of poetry, thoſe perſons are eſteemed the beſt readers, who pay the leaſt regard

to

to its regular and ſtated return, and attend only to ſuch pauſes, as the ſenſe of an author naturally points out. This may be conſidered as no ſlight proof of the comparative excellence of good blank verſe, and the ancient metrical compoſitions.

A wider and more accurate ſurvey of nature, and a more diligent cultivation of art, by gradually opening new channels of knowledge, have increaſed the number of words. Hence we find, that the moderns excel the ancients in copiouſneſs of language upon many ſubjects, of which abundant inſtances occur in the terms which expreſs certain metals, ſemimetals, earths, plants, animals, amuſements, and recreations, various machines, implements, and materials employed in agriculture, navigation, and chemiſtry. In ſeveral branches of ſcience, in addition to all that was before aſcertained, diſcoveries have been made, which were entirely unknown in ancient times.

This greater extent and variety of knowledge reſult from the operations of the ſpirit of enterprize, and the diligent ardour of reſearch, which have explored new paths, and improved upon former diſcoveries. But it may abate the triumph of the moderns to reflect, that much of their ſuperior knowledge may be the natural conſequence of living in the *later* ages of the world. Future generations, if they are active and inquiſitive, will poſſeſs the ſame aſcendency over the preſent; and the

the advancement of language will continue to be proportionate to the progreſs of the arts and ſciences.

By tracing the variety of languages and alphabets to one ſource, we ſimplify ſubjects of curious inquiry; and we extricate ourſelves from that perplexity, in which we ſhould be involved, if we rejected an opinion ſo conformable to reaſon, and which the more accurate is our examination into ancient hiſtory, the more grounds we find to adopt. And it is a pleaſing circumſtance to obſerve, that while we maintain a ſyſtem, ſupported by the moſt reſpectable profane authorities, we ſtrengthen the arguments in favour of the *high antiquity* of the Jewiſh language, and corroborate, with reſpect to its origin, the relations of the *holy Scriptures*.

Our remarks likewiſe on the nature of language, both ancient and modern, and their comparative excellence and defects, may lead to many uſeful inquiries and reflections, as the progreſs of human knowledge is ſo cloſely connected with the ſubject. The art of writing has been the great means of enlightening the underſtanding, and ſoftening the manners, and the great inſtrument of improving ſocial life, and ſtrengthening its ties. To conſider the advantages, which the improvement of languages, and of this art, have conferred upon mankind, would open a boundleſs field of obſervation.

vation. Our range of remark would be equally vague and unprofitable, if we were to indulge the pleaſing ſpeculation of enlarging upon the numerous languages which have been, or are now ſpoken in the moſt civilized parts of the world. It belongs to our plan to confine our attention to ſubjects of more obvious utility, and to conſider thoſe languages only, which intereſt us on account of the people to whom they belong, and the information which they convey.

CHAPTER II.

The Engliſh Language.

THE impreſſions made by the conquerors who have ſettled in any particular nation are in few reſpects more clearly to be traced, than by the change they have produced in the language of the natives. This obſervation may be applied with peculiar propriety to our own country: for after the Saxons had ſubdued the Britons, they introduced into England their own language, which was a dialect of the Teutonic or Gothic. From the fragments of the Saxon laws, hiſtory, and poetry ſtill extant, we have many proofs to convince us, that it was capable of expreſſing with a great degree of copiouſneſs and energy the ſentiments of a civilized people. For a period of ſix hundred years no conſiderable variation took place. William the Conqueror promoted another change of language, which had been begun by Edward the Confeſſor, and cauſed the Norman French to be uſed, both in his own palace, and in the courts of juſtice; and it became in a ſhort time current among all the higher orders of his ſubjects. The conſtant intercourſe, which ſubſiſted between France and England for ſeveral centuries, introduced a very conſiderable addition of terms; and they were adopted

adopted with very ſlight deviation from their original, as is evident from the works of our early writers, particularly Chaucer, Gower, and Wickliffe, and many other authors quoted by Warton in his curious and entertaining Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry. Such were the grand ſources of the Engliſh tongue; but the ſtream has been from time to time augmented by the copious influx of the Latin and other languages, with which the purſuits of commerce, the cultivation of learning, and the progreſs of the arts, have made our anceſtors and ourſelves acquainted.

The ſame countries, which have ſupplied the Engliſh with improvements, have furniſhed the various terms by which they are denoted. Muſic, ſculpture, and painting, borrowed their expreſſions from Italy; the words uſed in navigation are taken from the inhabitants of Flanders and Holland; the French have ſupplied the expreſſions uſed in fortification and military affairs. The terms of mathematics and philoſophy are borrowed from Latin and Greek. In the Saxon may be found all words of general uſe, as well as thoſe which belong to agriculture, and the common mechanical arts.

But notwithſtanding the Engliſh language can boaſt of ſo little ſimplicity as to its origin, yet in its grammatical conſtruction it bears a cloſe reſemblance to Hebrew, the moſt ſimple language of antiquity. Its words depart leſs from the original form,

form, than thoſe of any other modern tongues. In the ſubſtantives there is but one variation of caſe; and it is only by the different degrees of compariſon, that changes are made in the adjectives. There is only one conjugation of the verbs, ſome of which indeed are not varied at all, and others have only two or three changes of termination. Almoſt all the modifications of time are expreſſed by auxiliary verbs; and the verbs themſelves preſerve in many inſtances very nearly, and in ſome caſes exactly, their radical form in the different tenſes. The diſcriminating powers of theſe auxiliary verbs are of great uſe in expreſſing the different moods. The article poſſeſſes a ſtriking peculiarity, differing from that in moſt other languages, for it is indeclinable, and common to all genders. This ſimplicity of ſtructure renders our language much eaſier to a learner than Italian or French, in which the variations of the verbs in particular are very numerous, complex, and difficult to be retained.

The Engliſh language is uniform in its compoſition, and its irregularities are far from being numerous. The diſtinctions in the genders of nouns are agreeable to the nature of things, and are not applied with that caprice, which prevails in many other languages. The order of conſtruction is more eaſy and ſimple, than that of Latin and Greek; it has no genders of adjectives, nor any gerunds, ſupines, or variety of conjugations. Theſe peculiarities give it a philoſophical charac-

ter; and as its terms are ſtrong, expreſſive, and copious, no language ſeems better calculated to facilitate the intercourſe of mankind, as a univerſal medium of communication.

Since the Grammars of Lowth and Prieſtley, and the Dictionary of Johnſon have been publiſhed, our language has been brought nearer to a fixed ſtandard. It is now conſidered, more than ever, as an object of grammatical rules, and regular ſyntax. Its idioms are more accurately aſcertained by a compariſon of paſſages ſelected from the beſt authors. The derivations are traced from their original ſources with greater preciſion; and its orthography is now more reduced to ſettled rules. To the labours of *Johnſon*, as a *Lexicographer*, our nation is under great obligations; and if he has in ſome inſtances failed in diligence of reſearch, or extent of plan, we muſt at leaſt be ready to allow, that he has contributed more than any of his countrymen towards the elucidation of his ſubject; he has given his definitions of words with great clearneſs, and confirmed them by a detail of quotations from the beſt authors. There is perhaps no book, profeſſedly written upon a philological ſubject, that can give to foreigners as well as to natives, ſo juſt and advantageous an idea of our language, or of the variety and the excellence of our writers: the Preface to his Dictionary is a moſt accurate and deſervedly admired compoſition.

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The derivation of Engliſh words, as far as it relates to Latin and Greek, has been frequently and ſatisfactorily traced: but thoſe which are of Saxon origin were a long time prevalent without ſufficient inveſtigation. The Author of the "Di-verſions of Purley [h]," whoſe natural acuteneſs and turn for metaphyſical reſearch peculiarly qualified him for ſuch a taſk, has directed his attention to the ſubject; and the ingenious theory which he has formed, reſpecting the origin of the indeclinable parts of ſpeech, was remarkably confirmed by his knowledge of Saxon. He has proved very clearly, that many of our adverbs, conjunctions, and prepoſitions, which are commonly thought to have no ſignification, when detached from other words, are derived from obſolete verbs, or nouns, the meaning of which they reſpectively retain; but which have been ſhortened for general convenience, and corrupted by length of time. Such a diſcovery is valuable, not only on account of the light it throws upon thoſe parts of our language which have been too ſlightly regarded by all former grammarians; but for the aſſiſtance it affords to the ſcience of etymology in general.

Dr. Johnſon has declaimed againſt *tranſlations* as the bane of language: but Warton has obſerved, in the "Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry," on the contrary, that our language derived great benefits from the tranſlations of the claſſics in the ſixteenth

[h] P. 185, &c.

century. This difference of opinion may probably be reconciled, by ſuppoſing that theſe writers advert to the ſtate of a language at different periods of time. When it is in its dawn of improvement, as was the caſe when the tranſlations of the Claſſics were firſt made into Engliſh, the addition of foreign terms may be requiſite to keep pace with the influx of new ideas. In a more advanced period of arts and civilization, ſuch an increaſe is not only unneceſſary, but may be injurious; and the practice ſeems as needleſs, as the introduction of foreign troops for the defence of a country, when the natives alone are ſufficient for its protection.

I. *Beauties of the Engliſh Language.*

A language, which has been ſo much indebted to others, both ancient and modern, muſt of courſe be very copious and expreſſive. In theſe reſpects perhaps it may be brought into competition with any now ſpoken in the world. No Engliſhman has had reaſon to complain, ſince our tongue has reached its preſent degree of excellence, that his ideas could not be adequately expreſſed, or clothed in a ſuitable dreſs. No author has been under the neceſſity of writing in a foreign language, on account of its ſuperiority to our own. Whether we open the volumes of our divines, philoſophers, hiſtorians, or artiſts, we ſhall find that they abound with all the terms neceſſary to communicate their obſervations and diſcoveries, and give

give to their readers the moſt complete views of their reſpective ſubjects. Hence it appears, that our language is ſufficiently capacious for all purpoſes, and can give proper and adequate expreſſion to variety of argument, delicacy of taſte, and fervour of genius. And that it has ſufficient copiouſneſs to communicate to mankind every action, event, invention, and obſervation, in a full, clear, and elegant manner, we can prove by an appeal to the authors, who are at preſent moſt admired and eſteemed.

But its excellence is perhaps in few reſpects diſplayed to ſuch advantage, as in the productions of our poets. Whoever reads the works of Shakeſpeare, Spenſer, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, will be ſenſible that they employ a kind of phraſeology which may be ſaid to be ſacred to the Muſes. It s diſtinguiſhed from proſe, not merely by the harmony of numbers, but by the great variety of its appropriate terms and phraſes. A conſiderable degree of beauty reſults likewiſe from the different meaſures employed in poetry. The *Allegro* and *Penſeroſo* of Milton, *Alexander's feaſt* by Dryden, the *Ode to the Paſſions* by Collins, and the *Bard* of Gray, are as complete examples of verſification, judiciouſly varied, according to the nature of the ſubjects, as they are ſpecimens of exquiſite ſentiment and original genius.

One of the moſt beautiful figures in poetry is the *Proſopopeia*, or perſonification, which aſcribes

perſonal qualities and actions to inanimate and fictitious beings. The genius of our language enables the Engliſh poet to give the beſt effect to this figure, as the genders of nouns are not arbitrarily impoſed, but may be varied according to the nature of the ſubject. Thus the poet can eſtabliſh the moſt ſtriking diſtinction between verſe and proſe, and communicate to his deſcriptions that ſpirit and animation, which cannot fail to delight every reader of taſte, in the following paſſages.

Thus Collins, in his Ode on Thomſon, who was buried at Richmond, in a train of imagery at once beautiful and original, declares, that—

"Remembrance oft ſhall *haunt* the ſhore
When Thames in ſummer wreaths is dreſt,
And oft *ſuſpend* the daſhing oar,
To *bid* his gentle ſpirit reſt."

Milton thus perſonifies Wiſdom;

——"Wiſdom's ſelf
Oft *ſeeks* to ſweet retired ſolitude,
Where with her beſt nurſe Contemplation,
She *plumes* her feathers, and *lets grow* her wings,
That in the various buſtle of reſort,
Were all too ruffled, and ſometimes impaired[i]."

And Warton deſcribes the advance of Evening;

"While Evening *veil'd* in ſhadows brown
Puts her matron mantle on,
And miſts in ſpreading ſtreams convey
More freſh the fumes of new-mown hay;
Then Goddeſs guide my pilgrim feet
Contemplation hoar to meet,
As ſlow *he winds* in muſeful mood,
Near the ruſh'd marge of Cherwell's flood[k]."

[i] Par. Loſt. [k] Warton's Ode on the Approach of Summer.

But

But the fulleſt diſplay of this figure occurs in the Fairy Queen of Spenſer, which abounds in the continued perſonification of abſtract ideas.

We muſt however acknowledge, that it is chiefly to grave ſubjects—to the details of the hiſtorian, the arguments of the politician and the divine, the ſpeculations of the philoſopher, and the invention of the epic and the tragic poet, that our expreſſions are beſt adapted. Our language has energy and copiouſneſs; but it accords not ſo well with the mirth of the gay, or the pathos of the diſtreſſed, as ſome others. In deſcribing the pleaſantries of the mind, in the effuſions of delicate humour, and the trifling levities of ſocial intercourſe, the French poſſeſs a decided advantage. In delineating the tender paaſſions, the ſoothing of pity, and the ardour of love, we muſt yield the ſuperiority to the ſofter cadence of Italian ſyllables.

II. *Defects of the Engliſh Language.*

Although it is natural to indulge a partiality to our native language, as well as to our native ſoil; yet this prepoſſeſſion ought not to make us blind to the defects either of the one or the other. We ſhall only advert to the principal imperfections of the language. Moſt of the words, except ſuch as are of Roman or Grecian origin, are monoſyllables terminated by conſonants; and this makes our pronunciation rugged and broken, and unlike

the regular and eaſy flow of claſſic phraſeology. Many of them are harſh and inharmonious; and there are ſome ſyllables, which can ſcarcely be pronounced by an Italian or a Frenchman, whoſe organs of ſpeech are habituated to ſofter expreſſions. "It is to the terminations with conſonants that the harſhneſs of our language may be imputed. The melody of a language depends greatly upon its vowel terminations. In Engliſh not more than a dozen common words end in *a*: about two dozen end in *o*. In *y* we have no leſs than 4900 words, about an eighth of our language; our words amounting to about 35,000[1].

The want of different terminations in verbs, as it introduces the frequent uſe of auxiliary verbs, too frequently obliges us to expreſs our meaning by circumlocutions. There is no diſtinction in the perſons of the plural number of verbs, nor in the tenſes or perſons of the paſſive voice. This is oftentimes the cauſe of ambiguity; and foreigners, in the peruſal of our books, muſt be very much at a loſs, without the cloſeſt attention to the preceding and ſubſequent parts of ſentences, to underſtand the particular ſenſe of many paſſages. Our accents are calculated to give conſiderable variety to pronunciation; but the prevailing mode of throwing them back, in ſome caſes, to the firſt ſyllable of a word, in a great degree deſtroys their uſe; and gives an indiſtinct, hurried, and almoſt unintel-

[1] Heron's Letters, p. 247.

ligible

ligible ſound to the other ſyllables. None of the modern languages of Europe are ſo ſtrongly marked by accents as our own. Their peculiar advantage is evident in poetry, as we are enabled to ſupport the varied numbers of blank verſe; and this circumſtance gives us a decided ſuperiority over the French. Zealous as ſome authors have been to eſtabliſh the excellence of Engliſh with reſpect to quantity, and to prove that it is in itſelf harmonious and muſical, we muſt, after all their ingenious arguments, be obliged to leave to the Greeks and Latins the regular and uniform diſtinctions of long and ſhort ſyllables[m]; for although there are many of our words, which we can affirm to be long or ſhort; yet a great number of them cannot be ſaid to be of any determinate quantity.

The mode of *ſpelling* appears to have been in former times extremely vague and unſettled. It is not uncommon to find in our old writers the ſame word ſpelt differently, even in the ſame page. Orthography began to be more an object of attention, and was reſcued from its great uncertainty, at the beginning of the laſt century. Yet authors of conſiderable eminence have differed much from each other in their modes of ſpelling ſome particular words, and have adjuſted their practice to their own ideas of propriety. This has given a very ſtiff and pedantic appearance to their writings. Nor has the influence of their authority had any

[m] Warton on Pope, Vol. I. p. 305.

effect

effect upon the prevailing cuſtoms, or reſcued them from the imputation of ſingularity and affectation. Dr. Lardner was deſirous of reviving the old mode of ſpelling in ſome inſtances, as in *goodneſſe*, *forgiveneſſe*, &c. Benſon, a commentator on St. Paul's Epiſtles, wrote *præface*, *præfix*, *prævail*, *procede*, *perſue*, and *explane*, like Lardner. Dr. Middleton, a more elegant writer, attempted ſimilar innovations; and Upton, the learned commentator on Shakeſpeare, tires his readers by the repetitions of the word *taſt* for the ſubſtantive taſte.

Our orthography remained in this fluctuating ſtate, till at length what was the general wiſh, what many had attempted in vain, and what ſeemed to require the united efforts of numbers, was accompliſhed by the diligence and the acuteneſs of one man. "Dr. Johnſon publiſhed his Dictionary; and as the weight of truth and reaſon is irreſiſtible, its authority has nearly fixed the external form of our language, and from its deciſions few appeals have yet been made. Indeed ſo convenient is it to have one acknowledged ſtandard to recur to—ſo much preferable, in matters of this nature, is a trifling degree of irregularity to a continual change, and fruitleſs purſuit of unattainable perfection, that it is earneſtly to be hoped, that no author will henceforth on ſlight grounds be tempted to innovate. Dr. Johnſon is every where the declared enemy of unneceſſary innovation. The principles on which he founds his improve-

improvements, are the ſtable ones of etymology and analogy: the former ſcience will not ſoon be more completely underſtood than it was by him; and if in the latter, a few ſteps may have been made beyond the limits of his obſervation, they have been gained only by the purſuit of minute reſearches, inconſiſtent with the greatneſs of his undertaking [n]."

It is the opinion of this learned Lexicographer, that as we received many of our words originally of Latin derivation, through the medium of the French, we ought to follow the latter mode of ſpelling in preference to the former. Good as this general rule may be thought, there are ſome exceptions, which in compliance with prevailing cuſtom he readily admits himſelf. "The rule required him to write *en*quire from the French enquerir, not *in*quire. The termination in *our* is one of thoſe which has created much diſpute. At preſent the practice ſeems to favour the rejection of *u* in all words of more than two ſyllables. Johnſon ſpells auth*or* without a final u, but always writes hono*ur* and fav*our* [o],

It may be laid down as a *general rule*, that the moſt judicious attention that can be paid to orthography, muſt neceſſarily conſiſt in diſtinguiſhing thoſe irregularities which are inherent

[n] Nares's Orthoepy, p. 269.
[o] Nares, p. 276.

in

in the language itſelf, from thoſe introduced by the *capricious*, the *faſhionable*, and the *ignorant*.

The preceding obſervations have chiefly related to words conſidered by themſelves. It may be proper, in the next place, to make ſome remarks upon our compoſition, or the arrangement and connexion of words, as they conſtitute ſentences. In this reſpect all modern languages fall ſhort of the ancient, which are diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar roundneſs, harmony, and compaſs of period. The Greeks and Romans, by having different genders and terminations of their verbs and nouns, gave a preciſion to their meaning, which enabled them to diverſify the order of conſtruction, in an infinite variety of modes, without any injury to the general ſenſe. Of this advantage our language is in a great degree incapable, by reaſon of the ſimplicity of its ſtructure. It will indeed admit of the tranſpoſition of the members of a ſentence; but the tranſpoſition of words, except in poetry, ſeems to be contrary to its genius. Our words in general are placed in the natural order of conſtruction; and to this ſtandard we endeavour to reduce both our literal and free tranſlations of Greek and Latin authors: in the works of our writers we ſeek in vain for that condenſeneſs of ideas, for thoſe cloſe and connected parts of a ſentence, and that judicious poſition of the principal idea in the moſt advantageous place, which have ſo ſtriking an effect in the compoſition of the claſſics.

III. *Sir*

III. *Sir T. Browne—Dr. Johnſon—Mr. Gibbon.*

The cultivation of the learned languages, ſince the reign of Henry VIII. has introduced many words of Latin origin into the converſation and the writings of the Engliſh. The attention paid to Italian literature, particularly in the reign of Elizabeth, contributed to increaſe their number. In the works of Shakeſpeare we find many ſuch words; and thoſe, which his imperfect knowledge of Latin and Greek did not afford him the opportunity of taking immediately from the claſſics, he probably borrowed from the ſame tranſlations, which furniſhed many of his plots, ſpeeches, and characters[p]. Yet he ſeems to have conſidered the too free admiſſion of this ſtrange phraſeology as an object of occaſional cenſure, and has therefore expoſed it to ridicule with great effect in the ludicrous characters of Holofernes and Piſtol. The dramatic productions of Ben Jonſon his contemporary are much more ſtrongly marked by theſe exotic conceits. But of all our writers of thoſe times no one ſeems to have been ſo ambitious of the ſtiff and pompous decorations of a latiniſed ſtyle, as Sir Thomas Browne, the author of "the Vulgar Errors." His ſentences are ſo replete with words, which differ only from Latin in their terminations, that he is entitled to the firſt place in the ſchool of pedantry. It is very extraordinary,

[p] For a very curious Liſt of theſe Tranſlations, ſee Farmer's Eſſay on the learning of Shakeſpeare.

that

that the force of his own obſervation, which was levelled againſt thoſe who indulged in this practice, recoils with the greateſt force upon himſelf." "If elegancie ſtill precedeth, and Engliſh pens maintain that ſtream we have of late obſerved to flow from many, we ſhall within few years be fain to learne Latine to underſtand Engliſh, and a work will prove of equal facility in either[q]."

The affected ſtructure of his ſtyle is apparent even from the firſt ſentence of the above mentioned work. "Would truth diſpenſe, we could be content with Plato, that knowledge were but remembrance, that intellectual acquiſition were but reminiſcential evocation, &c." That many of his words may be tranſlated into Latin with little more than a change in their terminations, the following paſſages will ſhow. "Scintillations are not the accenſion of the air upon the colliſion of two hard bodies, but rather the inflammable effluences diſcharged from the bodies collided." "Ice is figured in its guttulous deſcent from the air, and grows greater or leſſer according unto the accretion or pluvious aggelation about the mother and fundamental atoms thereof[r]."

There is ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe, that Dr. Johnſon formed his ſtyle upon the model of Sir T. Browne. He has written his life; has quoted in his Dictionary many of his words, unſupported by any other authority; and perhaps in his works, it

[q] Preface to the Vulgar Errors. [r] P. 40, 41.

would

would not be difficult to trace ſome marks of direct imitation.'

Between the opinions and the practice of Johnſon there is a ſtriking inconſiſtency; for in the Preface to his Dictionary, he regrets that our language had been for ſome time gradually departing from its ancient Teutonic character; and yet in his works, particularly in the Rambler, he promotes this departure in the moſt ſtudious manner. From the writer of an Engliſh dictionary might naturally be expected a cloſe adherence to idiom; and that he would mark the line of diſtinction very ſtrongly between ſuch words and phraſes as were unſupported by ſufficient authority, and ſuch as had been fully ſanctioned by the uſage of the beſt authors. And from a writer, whoſe profeſſed purpoſe it was to recommend the beauties of moral truth to the different ranks of the public at large, and to render topics of criticiſm intelligible and popular, we ſhould expect few modes of expreſſion, which are pedantic or affected. Whether we conſider the nature of his Eſſays, or the general uſe for which they were intended, it muſt be evident, that ſuch ſubjects call for peculiar perſpicuity of expreſſion. Johnſon ſeems to have judged the ſtyle of Addiſon more worthy of praiſe, than proper for his imitation[1]. Our literature indeed dates a new era from

[1] "Whoever wiſhes to acquire a ſtile which is familiar but not coarſe, and elegant but not oſtentatious, muſt give his days and nights to the volumes of Addiſon."

"*Life of Addiſon.*"

the publication of his works: many of his words are rarely to be met with in former writers, and ſome are purely of his own fabrication [t]. By endeavouring to avoid low and familiar expreſſions, he is frequently lofty and turgid; and to a reader unacquainted with the learned languages, muſt ſometimes be wholly unintelligible. His new modes of expreſſion, involution of periods, frequent uſe of the ſubſtantive inſtead of the adjective, and ſtated introduction of triads, are peculiarities, if not innovations, which have drawn after him a train of imitators. Some of them are indeed entitled to praiſe on account of their poſſeſſing ſufficient judgment to keep their ſtyle in conſtant ſubſerviency to their thoughts; and others have expoſed themſelves to ridicule by the ludicrous aſſociation of pompous words with feeble and trite ideas.

If our ſubject required us to weigh the general merits of this celebrated author, as well as to re-

[t] *Reſuſcitation, orbity, volant, fatuity, divaricate, aſinine, narcotic, vulnerary, empireumatic, obtund, diſruption, ſenſory; cremation, horticulture, germination, decuſſation, eximious,* &c. If theſe words be not peculiarly Johnſon's, I know not where they are to be found. He who loves to drink only from the pure wells of Engliſh undefiled, may think they ought to be inſerted in the *Index Expurgatorius* of our language.

Where did T. Warton find ſuch words as *doctorated, fugacious;* or Bolingbroke ſuch as *incumberment, martyriſed, euchariſty, community, platonician, ſtoician;* or Shafteſbury ſuch compounds as *ſelf-end, ſelf-paſſion, home-dialect,* and *mirrour-writing;* or Arthur Young his expreſſive term *acclimated?*

mark the peculiarities of his ſtyle, we ſhould readily concur in the commendation beſtowed upon his tranſcendent abilities, and acknowledge, that the energy of his language was oftentimes a ſufficient apology for his elaborate pomp; and that our cenſure muſt in ſome degree abate its ſeverity, when we conſider the force and the diſcrimination of his terms, the correctneſs, variety, and ſplendour of his imagery, the power of his underſtanding, his love of virtue and religion, and his zeal for their promotion, ſo extremely well adapted to the different characters he ſuſtained in the literary world as a moraliſt, a philologiſt, and a critic.

In the courſe of our remarks upon this ſubject, Gibbon, the hiſtorian of "the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," claims ſome ſhare of our attention. It is a great misfortune for the public, and particularly for the younger part of his readers, conſidering the great popularity of his works, that he has concealed the poiſon of infidelity under a honied ſweetneſs of ſtyle. Skilled in all the arts of declamation, and ſtudious to pleaſe and to amuſe us at the expence of correctneſs of taſte, he has confounded the diction of a *poet* with that of an *hiſtorian*. And his arrangement of ſentences is frequently ſo much alike, and they are formed in ſo mechanical a manner, that they ſeem to have been conſtructed according to one particular rule. Although many of his characters are finely drawn, and many of his deſcriptions are lively and beautiful; yet his verboſeneſs frequently fatigues the attention, and

his obſcurity perplexes it. He endeavours, and often with unſucceſsful pains, to give dignity to trifles, and to adorn every ſubject, whether trivial or important, with the flowery ornaments of deſcription. In various inſtances he muſt offend the judgment of thoſe who wiſh to ſee the different kinds of compoſition confined within their due limits, and more particularly expect, that an hiſtorian ſhould not depart, either in point of dignity of character, or propriety of expreſſion, from the rules of correct compoſition. A careful reader of Gibbon will obſerve, that his affectation oftentimes renders his meaning very obſcure; that he deviates from the genius of our language by the frequent tranſpoſition of the members of his ſentences, and by uſing words in new and unauthoriſed ſenſes; by borrowing French ornaments of ſtyle, and by ſometimes adopting the French idiom.

It is not eaſy to eſtimate how much the Scotch writers have contributed to the value and the importance of literature. In the various departments of Poetry, Criticiſm, Hiſtory, Philoſophy, and Science, they have exerted themſelves with no leſs diligence than talents. We ſhould deſervedly be regarded as too faſtidious and rigid, if we were to criticiſe their mode of expreſſion with too much ſeverity. We may however be allowed to obſerve, that their *firſt* publications are often marked by thoſe Scotticiſms, or national peculiarities, which are in ſucceeding editions expunged. Hume, Robertſon, and Blair, by careful reviſions have refined and

and poliſhed their works, which have very high pretenſions to occupy a place next to that of the Engliſh claſſics.

We are the more deſirous of pointing out the defects of Johnſon and Gibbon on account of their great reputation. We ought not to be dazzled with the ſplendour of their names; and as we are ready to give due praiſe to their beauties, it cannot fairly be required that we ſhould palliate, or conceal their defects.

If writers will contribute to make our language unneceſſarily more parti-coloured and motley than it was before; if they deliberately add to its corruptions, and haſten its decline, they are juſt objects of cenſure: and unleſs their deviations from its idiom be remarked and avoided, how can the diſtinction between a pure and a vitiated ſtyle be preſerved? Without attention to ſome rules, without a proper diſcrimination between bad and good models, the language will degenerate, and the ſterling ore of the Engliſh tongue will finally loſe its value, its weight, and its luſtre, by being mixed with the droſs of French frivolouſneſs, and the alloy of learned affectation.

The Subject continued.

CHAPTER III.

OUR language ought to be conſidered not only with a view to its grammatical propriety, but as a ſubject of taſte. In order to avoid the errors of thoſe who have been led aſtray by affectation and falſe refinement, and to form a proper opinion of its genuine idiom, it is neceſſary to peruſe the works of the beſt and moſt approved writers.

In the various departments of religion, hiſtory, poetry, and general literature, we will endeavour to point out ſome writers of the pureſt Engliſh—but without any wiſh to detract from the merits of thoſe, whom the limited nature of our work, and not an inſenſibility or an ignorance of their merit, may make it neceſſary for us to omit.

Let the reader commence his ſtudies with thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed in the reign of Elizabeth, when the language began to be refined from its original roughneſs, aſſumed a fuller form, and was marked by more diſtinct features; and let him purſue his progreſs down to the preſent times. Nor ought he to be deterred from this deſign by an apprehenſion, that he will find the old authors clothed in the garb of rude and uncouth antiquity; for

for he will make the pleaſing diſcovery, that the language of his forefathers differs little from his own, in point of ſtructure and formation, and the general meaning of words.

The *ſubſtance* of a language remains for ages unaltered, however the influx of new cuſtoms, and the inventions or the improvements of arts, may occaſion ſome addition to its terms, and ſome change in its orthography and pronunciation. Shakeſpeare will of courſe attract his early attention; and he will find in his incomparable dramas ſuch an accommodation of ſtyle to the grave and the gay, the rough and the poliſhed, the heroic and the vulgar characters of his plays, as ſhews that our language was ſufficiently ſtrong and copious to be a proper vehicle for the conceptions of his vaſt and wonderful genius. The works of Speed, Aſcham, Raleigh, Clarendon, and Temple, are highly to be valued for the vigour and compaſs of their diction, as well as the diſplay of extenſive knowledge and eminent abilities. The common tranſlation of the Bible, excluſive of the important nature of its contents, deſerves great attention. The nature and compaſs of its phraſeology are ſuch, as prove no leſs the powers of the language, than the correct judgment of the tranſlators. The words are, for the moſt part, elegant and expreſſive, and convey the ſublime ideas of the original, without coarſeneſs or familiarity on the one hand, or pedantry and affectation on the other. The manly and dignified proſe, and the rich and

ſublime poetry of Milton, far from being degraded or fettered, are exalted and adorned by their ſtyle; and it was his peculiar glory, to apply with conſummate taſte and ſkill the flowing and unſhackled periods of blank verſe, to the majeſty of an epic poem. The increaſing tribute of praiſe has in every age ſubſequent to his own been paid to the ſtores of his vaſt erudition, and the flights of his tranſcendent genius.

In the reign of Charles II. the reader will find no author more worthy of his attention than Barrow, whoſe periods are ſo full and exuberant, as to give no inadequate repreſentation of the eloquence of Cicero. He exhauſts every ſubject which he undertakes to diſcuſs, leaving nothing but admiration of the boundleſs fertility of his mind, to the writers who follow him upon the ſame topics. They diſplay to the greateſt advantage the energy of his intellectual powers, employed upon the moſt important ſubjects of morality and religion.

The great Locke, in a plain and ſevere ſtyle, well adapted to the philoſophical preciſion of his reſearches, unravelled the intricacies of the moſt intereſting branch of philoſophy by tracing ideas to their ſource, and developing the faculties of the mind. In the illuſtrious reign of Anne, when Britain reached a degree of glory in literature and arts, which might be put in competition with the age of Pericles, or Auguſtus; Swift in clear and familiar diction, unaided by flowery ornaments, expreſſed

expreſſed the dictates of a ſtrong underſtanding, and lively invention. Addiſon, the accompliſhed ſcholar, the refined critic, and the enlightened moraliſt, like another Socrates brought moral philoſophy from the ſchools, arrayed her in the moſt engaging dreſs, and called the attention of his countrymen to taſte and to virtue, in his elegant and entertaining eſſays[u]. The prefaces of Dryden are marked by the eaſe and the vivacity of genius; and there is a facility in his rhymes, and a peculiar vigour in his poetry, which render him juſtly the boaſt of our country. Pope compoſed his prefaces and letters with peculiar grace and beauty of ſtyle; and his poems preſent the fineſt ſpecimens of exquiſite judgment, adorned by the moſt harmonious and poliſhed verſification.

The works of Melmoth, particularly his letters and tranſlations of Cicero and Pliny, are remarkable for ſmoothneſs and elegance of compoſition. The Lectures of Sir Joſhua Reynolds illuſtrate the principles of his delightful art, in a manner

[u] As I have been from early life an enthuſiaſtic admirer of Addiſon, conſidered as a moral writer, I cannot characteriſe his merits in a manner more correſpondent with my original feelings of reſpect, than by applying to him the ſentiments which Eraſmus has expreſſed of Cicero. "Certe nunquam mihi magis placuit Cicero tum, quum adamarem illa ſtudia, quam nunc placet ſeni: non tantum ob divinam quandam orationis felicitatem, verum etiam ob pectoris eruditi ſanctimoniam, profecto meum afflavit animum, meque mihi reddidit meliorem."

no leſs creditable to him as a fine writer, than as an eminent painter, and connoiſſeur. The ſacred diſcourſes of the amiable Horne recommend the duties of that holy religion, of which he was ſo bright an ornament, in a ſweet and lively ſtyle. The manly vigour of Biſhop Watſon diffuſes its animation though all his works, whether philoſophical, controverſial, or religious. And where can we find compoſitions, which unite the politeneſs of the gentleman with the attainments of the ſcholar, blended in juſter proportions, than in the Polymetis of Spence, the Athenian Letters, the Dialogues of Lord Littleton and Biſhop Hurd, and the papers of the Adventurer, and the Obſerver?

Theſe are ſome of the principal ſources, from which may be derived a proper knowledge of the purity, the ſtrength, and the copiouſneſs of the Engliſh language. Such are the examples, by which our ſtyle ought to be regulated. In them may be remarked the idiomatic ſtructure of ſentences, and the proper arrangements of their parts. They preſent ſpecimens of purity without ſtiffneſs, and elegance without affectation; they are free both from pomp and vulgarity of diction, and their authors have the happy art of pleaſing our taſte, while they improve our underſtandings, and confirm our principles of morality and religion.

In the courſe of this peruſal it will be found, that in proportion as the great controverſies upon religion,

religion, politics, and philoſophy, began to ſubſide ſince the time of the Revolution, a greater attention has been paid to the niceties of grammar and criticiſm; and coarſe and barbarous phraſeology has been gradually poliſhed into propriety and elegance.

As the practice of writing for public inſpection has been much improved ſince the period abovementioned, a remarkable change has taken place. The long parentheſis, which ſo frequently occurs in the older writers, to the great embarraſſment and perplexity of their meaning, has fallen much into diſuſe. It has been obſerved, that it is no where to be found in the writings of Johnſon. Authors have ſhortened their ſentences, which, in ſome of the beſt writers of the ſeventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, were extended to an exceſſive length[y]: and they have ſtated their thoughts to much more advantage by ſeparating them from each other, and expreſſing them with greater diſtinctneſs: whether this circumſtance may not argue a want of fertility of ideas, and a tardineſs of conception, it is not our buſineſs to inquire. The cuſtom of writing in ſhort ſentences

[y] See the firſt ſentence of Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. The ſecond ſentence of Milton's "Reformation" in England runs to 29½ folio lines, divided into nearly as many members; the firſt ſentence of his ſecond Book againſt Prelacy is 18½ lines folio in length. There is a ſentence in Bolingbroke's Philoſophy, Eſſay i. ſect. 2. which is 22 lines octavo in length; and there is another in Swift's Letter to the Lord Treaſurer nearly as long. Dr. Barrow's periods are ſometimes as much extended.

muſt

muſt be allowed to detract from roundneſs of period, and dignity of compoſition; but it certainly contributes ſo materially to perſpicuity, which is the prime excellence of ſtyle, that it cannot fail to make every reader ſatisfied with the change.

I. *Converſation and Pronunciation.*

Our remarks have been generally applied to the Engliſh, conſidered as a written language; but books have a much more extenſive uſe, and merely to regulate the practice of writers; for they are calculated to correct the errors of converſation, and communicate both accuracy and purity to ſocial intercourſe. There will always be leſs variation of ſpeech prevailing among the natives of different provinces, and leſs vulgarity of dialect, in proportion as well written books are circulated and peruſed. But the ſtandard of the language ought always to continue the ſame; it ſhould conſiſt in a compliance with general rules, and the practice of the poliſhed ranks of ſociety. Such regulations at once relieve it from the caprice of individuals, and eſtabliſh a barrier againſt the encroachments of commercial idiom, profeſſional phraſeology, vulgarity, ignorance, and pedantry.

The correct ſpeaker rejects local and provincial forms of expreſſion, for thoſe which are general. He converſes neither in the dialect of Somerſetſhire, nor of Norfolk; but in that elegant phraſeology

ology which has received the ſanction of the beſt company. He neither countenances by his approbation, nor authoriſes by his practice, new-faſhioned phraſes, or upſtart words, that have only novelty to recommend them; whether they are introduced by the great or the vulgar, the learned or the ignorant. Upon theſe occaſions a good taſte will prove the ſureſt guide. He conforms to idiom and analogy; and at the ſame time that he confeſſes his obligations to learned men for their labours in attempting to reduce his native language to a fixed ſtandard, he forgets not, what it is of great importance for an Engliſhman ever to recollect, that the "pure wells of Engliſh undefiled" are ſupplied by a Teutonic ſource; and that the genius of the Britiſh language, like the ſpirit of the Britiſh people, diſdains to be encroached upon by arbitrary and foreign innovations [z].

Thoſe who write only for the preſent times labour to adorn their ſtyle with modiſh phraſes. A popular ſpeaker, and particularly a member of the Houſe of Commons, enjoys a kind of privilege to coin as many words as he pleaſes; and they no ſooner receive the ſanction of his authority than they intrude upon us from every quarter in letters, plays, and periodical publications. But ſuch words

[z] Quintilian defines and fixes the true ſtandard of converſation with his accuſtomed judgment. "In loquendo non ſi quid vitioſe multis inſederit, pro regula ſermonis accipiendum erit.—Ergo conſuetudinem ſermonis vocabo *conſenſum eruditorum*; ſicut vivendi conſenſum bonorum." Lib. i. c. 4.

reſemble

reſemble the flies that are ſeen ſporting in the ſun only for a day, and afterwards appear no more. The people of faſhion, ever fickle and fond of novelty, are as prompt to reject as they were to adopt them; and they ſeldom long ſurvive the occaſion that gave them birth.

> In words, as faſhions, the ſame rule will hold,
> Alike fantaſtic, if too new or old.
> Be not the firſt by whom the new are try'd,
> Nor yet the laſt to lay the old aſide[a].

We cannot forbear to join in the complaint which foreigners make, that our pronunciation is much at variance with our orthography. The practice of the court and the ſtage has multiplied theſe variations, which have been too eagerly adopted in the higher ranks of ſociety. Agreeableneſs of ſound is often aſſigned as a reaſon for this practice; but in many words two conſonants are pronounced inſtead of one, which ſurely cannot give additional melody to a word[b]: the irregularities in our language are ſufficiently numerous, without making this addition to them. Fortunately indeed, the people at large are not influenced by the changes of faſhion, but long adhere to eſtabliſhed and ancient uſages; and therefore among them we muſt look for that uniformity of writing and ſpeaking, which perſons in the higher

[a] Pope on Criticiſm.

[b] As in the modiſh pronunciation of *nature, ſuperior, education, inſuperable*, &c. &c.

ranks

ranks of life too frequently ſacrifice to caprice, and a love of diſtinction and novelty.

We here conclude our obſervations on a language, which by the commerce, the conqueſts, and the colonies of the Engliſh, is at preſent well known in every quarter of the globe. Its reputation ſeems to increaſe more and more, as it is of late years become the favourite ſtudy of all thoſe foreigners who wiſh to complete a liberal education. And indeed it may be ſaid, without partiality or exaggeration, to merit their particular attention; ſince it contains ſome of the choiceſt treaſures of the human mind, and is the vehicle of ſuch intellectual vigour, ſuch energy of thought, warmth of imagination, depth of erudition, and reſearch of philoſophy, as can with difficulty be equalled in any other nation.

The prevalence and flouriſhing ſtate of our language depend not ſolely upon the inhabitants of the Britiſh dominions in Europe. In many of the iſlands of the Weſt Indies it is cultivated with diligence. Our extenſive and ſtill increaſing ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies promiſe to inſure its preſervation, and open a ſpacious field for its wider diffuſion. The United States of America cannot fail to perpetuate the language of their parent country; and the ſpirit of literary and ſcientific inveſtigation, which is riſing among them, will conduce to this end; ſince it will encourage the ſtudy of thoſe celebrated productions, from which the

the Americans have gained their knowledge of the beſt ſyſtem of legiſlation, and their moſt correct principles of liberty.

When we conſider the uncertainty and the fluctuating nature of all human affairs, and particularly the great mutability of language, we cannot help giving way to the melancholy reflection, that the time may arrive, when the Engliſh, which at preſent appears ſo durable and permanent, as the ſtandard of converſation and writing, will become obſolete. The caprices of faſhion, the wide extent of our commerce, the general intercourſe with other nations, and more particularly the predominant influence of the French language, may produce great changes; and Hume and Johnſon, Pope and Goldſmith, may become what Speed and Aſcham, Chaucer and Phaer, are at preſent. For the honour, however, both of true taſte and the good ſenſe of mankind, we may preſume to expect, that the volumes of Engliſh literature and ſcience will not ſink into oblivion;—but that the language, in which they are written, celebrated for the choiceſt productions, and ranked with the claſſical tongues of Greece and Rome, will be reſerved for general improvement and pleaſure, and will convey the works of genius, learning, and philoſophy, to the moſt diſtant ages and generations.

CHAPTER IV.

The Latin Language.

A KNOWLEDGE of this language introduces us to many of thoſe works, which are deſervedly claſſed among the moſt elegant productions of the human mind, and are conſidered as ſome of the moſt correct models of literary excellence. If we eſtimate its comparative value and importance, it claims a place immediately after our own tongue; as not only the Roman writers have made it the vehicle of their genius, but it has been diſtinguiſhed ſince the revival of learning, by the productions of many eminent authors.

The utility of an acquaintance with this language will be more immediately apparent, if we conſider how much our own is indebted to it for many of the terms of art and ſcience, as well as for moſt of our polyſyllables. Without the aid, indeed, of the words which it ſupplies, it is not only difficult to underſtand our older Authors, but to write or ſpeak even a ſentence of elegant Engliſh; ſo that when a ſcholar is engaged in ſtudying the Latin, he is in fact making himſelf a more perfect maſter of his own language. It is equally uſeful, if he wiſhes to acquire the French, the Italian, and the Spaniſh, as it conſtitutes ſo material a part of thoſe elegant tongues. It is the prolific mother

of

of many children; and whatever difference may prevail among them with reſpect to the various countries, in which they are ſettled, or the foreign alliances they have formed, they diſcover the parent from which they ſprung, by the moſt ſtriking ſimilarity of features.

Conſidered with reſpect to its *origin*, the Latin language derived many words from the Etruſcans and Sabines: it is however, for the moſt part, a very ancient branch of the Greek, and is chiefly formed from the Doric and Eolic dialects[c]. A colony of Arcadians under Œnotrus are ſaid to have introduced it into Italy many centuries before the Trojan war. As it was ſeparated from the mother tongue at ſo very early a period, it was deficient in that melody and ſweetneſs which the other dialects acquired, when Greek afterwards reached its greateſt perfection.

[c] The Eolic and Doric dialects may be very clearly traced in the Latin language. From the Eolic genitive in αων were formed the feminine plurals in *arum*. From the Doric α pro η are derived the words of the firſt declenſion. From the Doric third perſon plural in οντι for ουσι was formed the Latin third perſon plural in *unt*; from the genitive in οιο was formed the Latin genitive in *i*.

" Muretus non dubitavit dicere, eos qui Græci ſermonis expertes ſint, ne Latina quidem ſcripta penitus percipere poſſe." Prolegom. ad Etymologicum Lennep, p. 6.

" Ipſe vir ſummus Hemſterhuſius ſeſe in Latinis intelligendis ſic a Græcis adjuvari ſentiebat, ut interdum negaret, poetas eos qui ſe totos ad Græcorum imitationem contuliſſent, nominatim Propertium et Horatium, Græce imperitis valde placere poſſe." Prolegom. ad Etymologicum Lennep, p. 6.

Not.

Not only innumerable terms, but the ancient forms of the Roman letters, prove the origin of the language to have been Grecian. From the ſame ſource it derived progreſſive improvements. The firſt Latin poets, Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plautus, modelled their works upon the Grecian plan, as is particularly evident from their frequent uſe of compound words. As ſoon as the art of public ſpeaking began to be cultivated in Rome, the Greek language, which contained ſome of the richeſt treaſures of eloquence, became a favourite object of purſuit; and Athens was frequented by the Roman youth of fortune and family, as the beſt and moſt approved ſeminary of education. The attention which was paid to the productions of Greece by the Romans when advancing towards refinement, ſufficiently marks the high eſtimation, in which their literature was held. Cato, the celebrated Cenſor, at a late period of life learned the elements of that language; and Pompey, as a mark of diſtinguiſhed reſpect to a Greek philoſopher, lowered his conſular faſces to Poſidonius the ſophiſt, whom he viſited in his ſchool at Rhodes. Greece was to Rome, what Egypt had been in more remote times to Greece, the fruitful parent of her literature and arts.

The Latin yields the ſuperiority to the Greek language, not only with regard to melody of ſound, but compaſs of expreſſion. It has no dual number, and has only one tenſe to denote the paſt perfect, which does not expreſs whether the

action ſtill continues to be carried on: but the Greek can expreſs this equally by the preterperfect, and the aoriſt. The Latin has not a paſt participle active: whereas in Greek there are two, namely, the participle of the aoriſt, and the preterperfect. It wants likewiſe a preſent participle paſſive, which reduces writers to great inconvenience, and occaſions much aukwardneſs and uncertainty of expreſſion. It is deficient in a middle voice, and an optative mood, marked by a peculiar termination, to diſtinguiſh it from the ſubjunctive.

It is not eaſy to give a ſatisfactory reaſon why the Romans did not, in imitation of the Greeks, introduce *the article* into their language. This is one of its ſtriking defects. The importance of the article in fixing the meaning of a word to a preciſe idea will appear from the following, or any ſimilar inſtance. Suppoſe in Latin the words *Filius Regis* to occur in any author: Do they mean *a* ſon of *a* King, *the* ſon of *a* King, or *the* ſon of *the* King? each of which expreſſions conveys a very different idea. The exact ſenſe of Filius Regis muſt intirely depend upon the context; as the expreſſion is in itſelf vague and indefinite. The modern languages of Europe have the advantage over the Latin in this part of ſpeech, however inferior they may be to it in other reſpects.

In the different inflections and terminations of words, as well as in the delicate and pleaſing denominations of objects by diminutives, Greek and

Latin

Latin bear a ſtrong reſemblance to each other. The Latin poſſeſſes the advantage of compound words, but in a degree that will hardly admit of compariſon with the Greek. It is equally happy in denoting by particular verbs the frequent repetition or commencement of actions; and it is more accurate in its power of expreſſing certain modifications of time by gerunds and ſupines.

With reſpect to compoſition, the productions of the Latin claſſics are ranked next in order of excellence to thoſe of the Greek. The poliſhed writers of Rome, diſdaining to follow the plain and inartificial manner of their older authors, imitated the varied pauſes and harmonious flow of Grecian periods. The choice of arrangement allowed them by the happy genius of their language, produced a remarkable difference between the familiar and the formal ſtyle. In his Epiſtles and Satires, Horace is careleſs and eaſy: in his Odes he indulges in more flowing and more complex periods. Cicero in his letters is looſe and negligent; but in many of his Orations and philoſophical works, he is more exact in his conſtruction of words, and more ſtudiouſly correct.

In one kind of arrangement, the Romans were inferior to their great maſters, as they ſo frequently terminated their ſentences with verbs. This practice ſometimes runs through ſeveral ſentences together, with no ſmall degree of tireſome uniformity; as is evident from many paſſages in the hiſtory of Livy,

the Orations of Cicero, and the Commentaries of Cæſar. In defence however of this cuſtom it may be remarked, that as the action expreſſed by the verb is frequently the moſt emphatic idea, it might be thought moſt conſiſtent with the genius of their compoſition, to place it at the cloſe of the period, for the purpoſe of more effectually keeping up the attention of the hearer or reader.

From conſidering the beauties of compoſition ſo conſpicuous in the works of the claſſic authors, we muſt be ſenſible of the unfavourable light, in which they appear when viewed through the medium of *tranſlations*. They are expoſed to the vanity, the negligence, or the ignorance of the tranſlator: and are liable to be injured by his faſtidiouſneſs, or his want of taſte. The ſenſe of an original work may be debaſed by ſervile fidelity of verſion, or enervated by unreſtrained freedom of expreſſion; it may be dilated into a commentary, or compreſſed into an abridgment.

Sometimes a tranſlator flatters himſelf he can improve upon his original, as is attempted in the following inſtance. Virgil deſcribes Venus after her appearance to Æneas as viſiting Paphos:

——"Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo
Thure calent aræ, ſertiſque recentibus halant."

For which a French Tranſlator ſubſtitutes theſe lines:

"Dans ce Temple ou toujours quelque amant irrité,
Accuſe dans ſes vœux quelque jeune beauté."

Becauſe

Becauſe he thinks this deſcription is more characteriſtic of the Temple of Venus than that given by Virgil, which he ſays will apply equally well to the Temples of other Deities. Had he underſtood the ſpirit of the paſſage, and known that as blood was never ſhed upon the altar of the Paphian goddeſs, its *peculiar* ornaments were garlands of flowers, he might have ſpared himſelf the pains of endeavouring to *improve* upon Virgil. Dryden has ſometimes taken the liberty of ſubſtituting one image for another in his Tranſlation of Virgil, but with ſingular propriety and ſpirit. Take for inſtance the beautiful apoſtrophe to Niſus and Euryalus:

> O happy friends! for if my verſe can give
> Immortal life, your fame ſhall ever live,
> Fix'd as the Capitol's foundation lies,
> *And ſpread where'er the Roman Eagle flies*[d].

"Dryden ſaw that cloſeneſs beſt preſerved an Author's ſenſe, and that freedom beſt exhibited his ſpirit, he therefore will deſerve the higheſt praiſe, who can give a repreſentation at once faithful and pleaſing, who can convey the ſame thoughts with the ſame graces, and who, when he tranſlates, changes nothing but the language[e].

[d] "Fortunati ambo, ſi quid mea carmina poſſint!
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo,
Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile ſaxum
Accolet, *imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit.*"

[e] Johnſon's Idler, No. 69.

But after all, may we not apply to Tranſlations, the remark made by Philip of Macedon to a perſon who prided himſelf upon imitating the notes of the Nightingale? *I prefer the Nightingale herſelf.*

The defects and difficulties of the tranſlator are increaſed by the inferiority of his language. The claſſics are characteriſed by a native elegance and dignity of thought, a peculiar preciſion of ſtyle, a copious flow of period, and a regular conſtruction of ſentence: in addition to which their poetical works are adorned with the harmony of numbers, and the various beauties of metrical verſification. The modern languages poſſeſs ſome of theſe beauties in an inferior degree, and of others they are totally deſtitute. If therefore the flowers of eloquence and poetry, which bloom in the fields of Cicero and Virgil, be tranſplanted into a leſs genial ſoil, and a colder climate, their vigour declines, and they loſe the brightneſs of their colours, and the richneſs of their fragrance[f].

[f] My own practice may afford an apt illuſtration of the inferiority of a tranſlation to an original; for I have repreſented in feeble Engliſh the juſt and beautiful obſervations which Gravina, an eminent writer of Latin, has conveyed in ſtrong and Ciceronian periods. Opuſc. p. 183.

Ce qu'il y a des plus délicat dans les penſées, et dans les expreſſions des auteurs, qui ont écrit avec beaucoup de juſteſſe, ſe perd quand on les veut mettre dans une autre langue: à-peu-près comme ces eſſences exquiſes, dont le parfum ſubtile s'évapore quand on les verſe d'un vaſe dans un autre. Bouhours, Penſées Ingéniuſes, p. 195.

The

The fragments of the annals of the Pontiffs, and the laws of the Twelve Tables, are ſufficient to prove the rude and imperfect ſtate of the Latin language, during the early times of the republic. Two of the firſt hiſtorians of Rome compoſed their works in Greek: and even Brutus, the contemporary of Cicero, wrote his epiſtles in the ſame language. That great orator wrote a Greek commentary on his own conſulſhip; and his friend Atticus produced a ſimilar work upon the ſame ſubject. The Latin was not only for a conſiderable time an unpoliſhed, but a defective language. Its poverty of expreſſion was a ſubject of complaint, as ſoon as it began to be regularly ſtudied. Cicero and Lucretius were ſenſible of the want of terms adapted to philoſophical topics. Even the names of phyſics, dialectics, and rhetoric, were unknown before the former of theſe authors introduced them into his works; and the latter laments that his native tongue was not calculated to communicate, with adequate ſtrength and copiouſneſs of expreſſion, the wonders and the beauties of Grecian philoſophy. Its defects were not ſo great, when applied to ſubjects more congenial to the manners of the Romans. From their conſtant occupations in domeſtic and foreign wars for many centuries, their language took a deep and peculiar tincture, and the marks of it were evident from many modes of expreſſion. *Virtus*, for inſtance, denotes virtue as well as courage; *Exercitus*, which ſignifies an army, conveys likewiſe in its

original import the idea of any kind of corporeal exercise; *Imperator*, originally appropriated to a general, was afterwards applied to the supreme civil magistrate of the empire; and the term *Hostis*, which was employed in contradistinction to a native of Rome, in its primary meaning, denoted a stranger[x]. The Roman gentlemen were denominated *Equites*, which had a reference to the military service performed on horseback by persons of their quality, in the early ages of the commonwealth, when a soldier and a citizen were the same.

I. *Latin Classics.*

It might naturally enough be supposed, on comparing the Comedies of Plautus with those of Terence, and the Poems of Lucretius with Virgil, that they had lived at the distance of several centuries from each other: and yet they were in reality separated by no long interval of time. Plautus flourished about thirty years before Terence, and Virgil about fifty after Lucretius. The rapid progress of the Latin tongue to perfection will appear less extraordinary, when we remark the labour

[x] *Hostis* enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc *peregrinum* dicimus. Indicant 12 tabulæ, aut status dies cum hoste, &c. Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. c. 12.

Virtus is probably derived from vis or vir, as Ἀρετη is from Ἀρης. "Virtute semper prævalet sapientia." Phædrus.

bestowed

beſtowed upon its cultivation by perſons as eminent for their taſte and learning, as for their rank and talents. Scipio Africanus was the aſſiſtant of Terence in his comic productions; and Cicero and Cæſar promoted the improvement and refinement of their language, not only by examples of correctneſs in their inimitable writings, but by compoſing treatiſes of grammar.

All the Latin authors, who were remarkable for purity and elegance of diction, flouriſhed within the ſpace of a century and a half, viz. from the time of Scipio Africanus to the death of Auguſtus. During that auſpicious period, it was evident with what great ſucceſs the Roman language could be adapted to every ſpecies of compoſition. The proſe writer expanded his ideas in flowing periods, or condenſed them into conciſe ſentences. The poet adapted the various kinds of metre to the melodious notes of the lyre, or, aided by the fancied inſpiration of the epic muſe, poured forth the more regular numbers of heroic ſong.

The pureſt, and as it is ſometimes called the golden age of Latin compoſition, commenced with TERENCE, who introduced the characters of his elegant comedies, converſing in terſe and perſpicuous language. LUCRETIUS gave to the Epicurean philoſophy the wild but captivating charms of a vigorous fancy, and nervous expreſſion. His verſification is ſometimes rough and unpoliſhed, and ſometimes riſes into ſo much grace and ſmoothneſs

neſs as to reſemble the hexameters of Virgil[h]. The Mantuan ſhepherds were ſoon after inſtructed by that moſt eminent of Latin poets to converſe in refined dialogues. His Georgics received the higheſt poliſh of diction, and his Epic Muſe aſtoniſhed her hearers by correctneſs of compoſition, and harmony of ſong. Whenever VIRGIL indulges the genuine feelings of nature, and deſcribes the effects of the tender paſſions, he is peculiarly delicate, captivating, and pathetic; but he ſeldom aſcends to ſublimity of thought, without having the great father of Grecian poetry in view. CICERO, the pride of Rome, and a model of true eloquence, adapted his ſtyle to every ſpecies of proſe compoſition: in his letters he was eaſy and

[h] The principal inſtances that occur to confirm my aſſertion are, the beautiful exordium of his poem, *Œneadum Genetrix*, &c. his deſcription of the manſions of the Gods, *Apparet divum numen ſedeſque quietæ*, &c. lib. iii. l. 18. and his highly fanciful account of the origin of muſic from the ſinging of birds, *At liquidas avium voces*, &c. lib. v. l. 1377. There is a wild ſublimity and originality in the poem of Lucretius. His pictures of nature are enchanting; but his doctrine of atoms, which adhere to each other by chance, is too abſurd to require a ſerious refutation. As a genuine poet it was in vain for him to affect the character of an Atheiſt; he felt the neceſſity of ſome θεὸν απο μηχανης: he has therefore, with a diſplay of the moſt elegant imagery, and with a grace and majeſty ſuitable to the occaſion, opened his poem with an addreſs to the Goddeſs of Love, aſcribed to her the creation of the world, inveſted her with the attributes of power and goodneſs, and aſſigned to her the controul of all human affairs. He felt that there was nothing in the opinions of Epicurus, or Empedocles, to intereſt mankind, without preſenting to them ſome diſplay of the agency of a Divinity.

familiar;

familiar; upon ſubjects of philoſophy and eloquence he enriched the diction, while he enlightened the minds of his countrymen; in the character of a public ſpeaker, he gave beauty, pathos, and energy, to his native language; he adorned it with the brighteſt ornaments, and infuſed into it the united powers of extenſive learning and eminent talents. His copious and exuberant ſtyle reſembles the large and flowing garments, that were thrown by the ſculptor over the ſtatues of the gods, and which, far from preſſing and confining their bodies, gave free exerciſe to their limbs, and ſuperior gracefulneſs to their motion[1]. CORNELIUS NEPOS, the friend of Cicero, has ſhewn his congenial taſte by the eaſy and unaffected ſtyle, in which he has recorded the lives of eminent perſons of his own country and of Greece. The Commentaries of CÆSAR are valuable no leſs for accuracy and livelineſs of narrative, than for the pureſt ſimplicity of diction. HORACE ſuited the colours of his compoſition to the nature of his ſubjects: in his Epiſtles

[1] Velleius Paterculus, in his encomium on Cicero, defines with elegance and preciſion the limits of the golden age of Latinity. "Oratio et vis forenſis perfectumque proſæ eloquentiæ decus ita ſub principe operis ſui erupit Tullio, ut delectari ante eum pauciſſimis; *admirari vero neminem poſſis, niſi ab illo viſum; aut qui illum viderit.*" Lib. i. c. 17. Gravina caught the ſame ſpirit of elegant obſervation, when he remarked, "Mirum eſſet ſi hunc ſcriptorem non haberem eximium, quo nemo eſt auctior in eloquentia Latina, et in omni ſermonis elegantia locupletior, nemo ſplendidior, nemo uberior, nemo in omni eruditione celebrior; nemo denique de quo cum tot laudes ſint diffuſæ, *minus tamen pro illius dignitate ſit dictum,*" p. 180. De Lat. Linguâ.

and

and Satires he is humorous without coarſeneſs, and cenſorious without aſperity; and in his Odes he is conciſe, ſplendid, and majeſtic [k]. The eaſy and licentious OVID, the terſe CATULLUS, the plaintive TIBULLUS, poured forth their poetical effuſions in a full and clear ſtream of deſcription. PHÆDRUS, by his neat and expreſſive verſification of the Fables of Æſop, proved that Iambic meaſure was ſuited to the genius of the Latin tongue. LIVY gave the moſt finiſhed graces to hiſtoric compoſition; and it is difficult to determine whether he moſt excels in the clearneſs of his deſcriptions, or the appropriate eloquence of his ſpeeches. Learning has ſuſtained an irreparable injury in the loſs of the concluding, and of courſe the moſt intereſting part of his work, which related to a period, that

[k] In his Odes, Horace ſeems to unite the eaſe of Anacreon to the ſublimity of Pindar. He is more perſpicuous, and certainly has much more variety of ſubjects, than the Bard of Thebes. His *Paſtor cum traheret*, &c. his Speeches of Juno and of Regulus, and *Quem tu Melpomene ſemel*, &c. are effuſions of matchleſs beauty. If we obſerve his excellent good ſenſe, the preciſion of his ſtyle, the harmony of his numbers, and the verſatility of his genius;—if we recollect that the ſame man has written Odes which may diſpute the palm with the Bards of Greece, Satires full of pleaſing raillery, Epiſtles which contain the beſt lectures on men and manners, and an Art of Poetry which is the code of criticiſm and refined taſte; it will ſurely be admitted that he poſſeſſed the moſt ample powers to inſtruct and to delight mankind. Perhaps there is no claſſic, who pleaſes us more, or pleaſes us ſo long. He has charms for perſons of every age: by the young he is read with delight, and by the old he is rarely forgot. See La Harpe's Lectures at the Lyceum, Warton's Eſſay on Pope, vol. i. p. 397, and the Britiſh Critic for January 1794.

admitted

admitted the moſt advantageous diſplay of his talents for hiſtorical painting, his zeal for truth, and his ardour in the cauſe of liberty[1]. During this ſplendid period, ſo glorious to Rome and to human nature, the affected phraſeology of Salluſt was an omen of the approaching decline of claſſical purity*.

The high reputation acquired by theſe writers, whoſe praiſe has been the favourite theme of every poliſhed age, reſults from combining in their works the genuine beauties of elegant compoſition.

However they may differ in the direction of their talents, the nature of their ſubjects, and the ſtyle

[1] "Illi Quintilianus lacteam ubertatem tribuit," eumque Herodoto comparatum dicit, "cum in narrando mitæ jucunditatis, clariſſimique candoris; tum in concionibus ſupra quam narrari poteſt eloquentem; ita dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum perſonis accommodata: ſed affectus quidem, præcipue eos qui ſunt *dulciores*, ut parciſſime dicam, nemo hiſtoricorum commendavit magis; ideoque, lib. ii. c. v. Livium ab adoleſcentibus magis, quam Salluſtium legendum eſſe judicat. Walchii Hiſt. p. 50. Quint. lib. x. c. i.

* "How cometh it to paſs, that Cæſar and Cicero's talk is ſo natural and plain, and Salluſt's writing ſo artificial and dark, when all the three lived at one time? I will freely tell you my fancy herein. Surely Cæſar and Cicero, beſide a ſingular prerogative of natural eloquence given unto them by God; both two, by uſe of life, were daily orators among the common people, and greateſt counſellors in the ſenate-houſe; and therefore gave themſelves to uſe ſuch ſpeeches as the meaneſt ſhould well underſtand, and the wiſeſt beſt allow: following carefully that good counſel of Ariſtotle, loquendum ut multi, ſapiendum ut pauci."

Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, p. 339.

of their productions, there is ſtill a congeniality of taſte conſpicuous in all their writings, which are marked by ſuch perſpicuity and elegance of language, and animated by ſuch propriety and vigour of thought, as can only be well underſtood and fully reliſhed by frequent peruſal and attentive obſervation; and the extreme difficulty of reaching the ſtandard of excellence, which they have erected, is ſufficiently manifeſt from the ſmall number of modern writers, who have imitated them with any conſiderable degree of ſucceſs[n].

To follow the ſteps of Grecian authors was the general practice of the Romans. Each of them

[n] Strictior Calvus, numeroſior Aſinius, ſplendidior Cæſar, amarior Cælius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero, omnes tamen eandem ſanitatem eloquentiæ ſerunt, ut ſi omnium pariter libros in manum ſumſeris, ſcias, quamvis in diverſis ingeniis, eſſe quandam judicii et voluntatis ſimilitudinem et cognationem. Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. xxv.

The engaging gracefulneſs of the Sulpicia of Tibullus, apparent in all her actions, her dreſs, and whole demeanour, correſponds with the native beauty of the claſſics, diverſified in ſo many forms, and under every appearance inexpreſſibly beautiful and captivating.

Illam quicquid agit, quoquo veſtigia flectit,
Componit furtim, ſubſequiturque decor;
Seu ſolvit crines; fuſis decet eſſe capillis;
Seu comſit, comtis eſt veneranda comis.
Urit, ſeu Tyria voluit procedere palla,
Urit, ſeu nivea candida veſte venit.
Talis in æterno felix Vertumnus Olympo,
Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.
Tibull. lib. iv. carm. 2. ed. Heyne.

found

found ſome predeceſſor, who had led the way to the fields of invention, and was therefore adopted as the inſtructor of his inexperienced genius, and his guide to eminence and fame. The aſſiſtance which Homer, Heſiod, and the tragedians, afforded to Virgil, was ſimilar to that which in other branches of compoſition Pindar, Archilochus, Alcæus, and Sappho gave to Horace; Menander to Terence; Plato and Demoſthenes to Cicero; Polybius to Livy; and Thucydides to Salluſt. As a copy muſt from its own nature be inferior to the original, which it imitates, they have all fallen ſhort in point of originality and fervour of compoſition. The poets are more particularly remarkable for enriching themſelves with foreign treaſures; and as ſo many of their obligations to the Greeks, whoſe works are ſtill extant, are diſcovered, it is perhaps the leſs unfair for us to conclude, that the Romans were very deeply indebted to thoſe, whoſe works have not eſcaped the ravages of time. The loſt comedies of Menander and Philemon, and the loſt books of Polybius, if they could be recovered, would probably make ſuch diſcoveries as conſiderably to abate the praiſe uſually beſtowed upon Terence and Livy. The want of originality was in ſome meaſure, although imperfectly, ſupplied by judgment and taſte. The rules of criticiſm were ſtudied when various kinds of literature were cultivated at Rome; for Horace wrote his Art of Poetry nearly at the ſame time Virgil was compoſing his Eneid. A blind attachment to their great maſters fettered the minds of the Romans, and rendered them cloſe and

ſervile

ſervile followers, rather than daring and free adventurers. If however we conſider the manners of the nation, their dignity of character, their undaunted ſpirit, their love of freedom, and the great improvements made upon other foreign inventions; particularly upon the arts of government and war, we may fairly pronounce, that they would have approached much nearer to perfection, and that they would have taken a nobler and a ſublimer flight, if they had truſted leſs to the genius of Greece, and more to the enthuſiaſm of nature.

II. *Decline of the Language.*

The decay of taſte, which extended its influence to the productions of the fine arts, prevailed likewiſe in works of literature. In the writers who flouriſhed after the Auguſtan age, this circumſtance is remarkable, although we ſhould be deficient in juſtice not to acknowledge that they poſſeſs a conſiderable ſhare of beautiful imagery, lively deſcription, and juſt obſervation, both in poetry and proſe. Seneca degraded the dignity of his moral treatiſes by ſentences too pointed, and ornaments of rhetoric too numerous and ſtudied°; and Pliny gave too laboured and epigrammatic a turn to his Epiſtles. Lucan indulged the extravagance and wildneſs of his genius in puerile flights of fancy; and Tacitus fettered the powers of his judgment, and obſcured the

° See Quintilian book x. ad finem, for a juſt character of Seneca.

brightneſs

brightneſs of his imagination by elaborate brevity, and dark and diſtant alluſions[p]. Such affectation was in vain ſubſtituted for the charms of nature and ſimplicity. So fruitleſs is the attempt to ſupply, by gaudy ornaments of dreſs, and artificial beauty of complexion, the want of genuine charms, and the native bloom of youth.

QUINTILIAN, in an incomparable work, written to form the mind, and complete the education of a Roman orator, and abounding with the pureſt principles of judgment, and the choiceſt treaſures of learning and experience, endeavoured to direct the attention of his countrymen to the ancient models of compoſition. But the weeds of a bad taſte were too deeply and too widely ſown

[p] The character given by Pliny to Timanthes may be juſtly applied to Tacitus: "In omnibus ejus operibus *intelligitur* plus ſemper quam *pingitur*; et cum ars ſumma ſit, ingenium tamen ultra artem eſt." Lib. xxxv. c. 10.

"A man who could join the brilliant wit, and conciſe ſententiouſneſs peculiar to that age, with the truth and gravity of better times, and the deep reflection, and good ſenſe of the beſt moderns, cannot chooſe but have ſomething to ſtrike you. Yet what I admire in him above all this, is his deteſtation of tyranny, and the high ſpirit of liberty, that every now and then breaks out, as it were, whether he would or no. I remember a ſentence in his Agricola, that (conciſe as it is) I always admired, for ſaying much in a little compaſs. He ſpeaks of Domitian, who upon ſeeing the laſt will of Agricola, where he had made him coheir with his wife and daughter, 'Satis conſtabat lætatum eum velut honore judicioque; tam cæca et corrupta mens aſſiduis adulationibus erat, ut neſciret a bono patre non ſcribi hæredem, niſi malum principem.'" Gray's Letters to Weſt.

to be eradicated, even by his diligent and ſkilful hand; and this degeneracy in the productions of literature, with a few exceptions, kept a regular pace with the depravity of manners, which prevailed during the ſucceeding times of the lower empire.

It may be obſerved of Quintilian and of Sir Joſhua Reynolds, that their reſpective works are not merely calculated for the improvement of youth in eloquence and painting, but that they contain the principles of true taſte, which are applicable to the fine arts and to literature in general, aided by great force of expreſſion, and adorned with great elegance of fancy. The conciſe review of Greek and Latin authors by Quintilian, is perhaps ſcarcely to be paralleled for correctneſs of judgment[a]. He enlarges with peculiar pleaſure upon the Orations of Cicero, of whom he was an enthuſiaſtic admirer; and gives an admirable character of the Comedies of Menander. His ſtrictures upon Seneca prove, that in the decline of literature, when the works of that author were moſt popular, the taſte of Quintilian was neither vitiated by falſe refinement, nor perverted by the prejudices of his contemporaries.

"Were we to divide the whole ſpace from Auguſtus to Conſtantine into two equal periods of time, we could not obſerve without ſurpriſe the

[a] Quint. lib. x. de Copia Verborum.

difference

difference in their reſpective degeneracy and deterioration. The writers in the firſt diviſion rank, it is true, far below *their* predeceſſors of the Auguſtan ſchool: but who will compare Calphurnius and Nemeſianus with Lucan and Statius? Tacitus muſt not be degraded by a compariſon with any hiſtorian of the latter interval; and Suetonius himſelf riſes far above the level of Spartianus, Capitolinus, and Lampridius.

"St. Ambroſe, St. Auguſtin, and Pope Leo the Firſt, were undoubtedly men of powerful minds and extenſive learning; but they exhibit ſtrong proofs of the corruption of language. Nor can a more favourable judgment be paſſed upon the more lineally deſcended claſſics, the partizans of Homeric deities and pagan mythology. Servius was nothing more than a pains-taking grammarian; Macrobius, a profeſſed ſcholar and critic, was unable to uſe his own language, or exemplify his own rules; and Symmachus, a courtier, and a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, has not the leaſt claim to elegance of diction, or profundity of thought. Claudian himſelf, a foreigner, ſeems born to reſcue the age from general contempt, and in ſpirit and harmony ranks high among the Roman poets. As to Auſonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, and the galaxy of tranſalpine ſcholars, which ſheds a faint gleam on the laſt ſtage of Roman literature, they obtain by their number a diſtinction they could not claim by their merits[r]."

[r] Introduction to the Literary Hiſtory, &c. p. 20.

The great cauſe of the corruption of the Latin language, which gradually took place after the reign of Auguſtus, proceeded from the number of ſtrangers, Goths, Alans, Huns, and Gauls, who reſorted to Rome from the provinces of Italy, and other parts of the empire, and intermixed foreign words, and new combinations of ſpeech, with the original Latin. It is probable indeed, that as the claſſical language of Rome flouriſhed for ſo ſhort a period, it had never taken deep root in the provinces of Italy, where the inhabitants of Apulia, Tuſcany, Umbria, Magna Græcia, Lombardy, and Liguria, were all diſtinguiſhed by their peculiar dialects. The prevalence of Greek likewiſe had no inconſiderable influence in ſhortening the continuance of pure Latin, as the former had long been faſhionable among the poliſhed Romans; and when the ſeat of empire was removed, it entirely ſuperſeded the uſe of the latter in the court of Conſtantinople.

The accurate obſerver of the Latin tongue may trace its progreſs through the ſucceſſive ſtages of infancy, childhood, manhood, and old age. The infancy marks the time, when Saturn and Janus reigned over the moſt ancient inhabitants of Italy, and the Salii pronounced in honour of the gods their wild and unpoliſhed verſes. The childhood refers to the reign of the kings, and the eſtabliſhment of the laws of the twelve tables. Its manhood denotes the decline of the republic, and the riſe of the empire, when poetry was cultivated by Terence,

Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace; eloquence by Hortenſius and Cicero; and hiſtory by Cornelius Nepos and Livy. Its old age characteriſes the reigns of the latter emperors, when falſe refinement baniſhed the taſte of the Auguſtan age, and the language became debaſed and corrupted.

III. *State of the Language in modern Times.*

The extenſive conqueſts of the Romans, their conſtant intercourſe with other nations, and powerful influence over them, promoted the wide diffuſion of their language. The general eſtabliſhment of their laws, and the cuſtom of pleading in the courts of juſtice in no other language, laid the natives of many countries under the neceſſity of making its ſtudy a part of their education. After the fall of the empire, the Germans, as ſoon as they directed their attention to literature, revived it by the ſtudy of the imperial law. Nor did the authority of the Papal See contribute leſs to preſerve and diſſeminate it; for it was the refined policy of the Conclave to oppoſe the learning of Rome as a barrier againſt the encroachments of the Greek church; ſo that the popularity of the Latin tongue bore no inconſiderable proportion to the extent of the pontifical power. To theſe cauſes may be attributed the prevalence of Latin, as a living language, upon the continent of Europe. It is at preſent ſpoken with fluency not only in France and Italy, by thoſe who have received a liberal education, but even by

the peaſants in many parts of Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

Whilſt the Romans were maſters of the ancient world, and ever ſince the revival of learning, no language has had better pretenſions to the title of an univerſal language than the Latin. So great has been its prevalence, that it has been cultivated by every enlightened nation; and there is no branch of learning, diſcovery of art, or ſyſtem of ſcience, and indeed ſcarcely any topic of liberal diſcuſſion or inquiry, which has not been indebted to it for expreſſion, ornament, and illuſtration. This has always been the vehicle of communication between men of letters, and has enabled them to carry on a correſpondence with each other from the moſt diſtant places. Many celebrated authors have conſidered their native tongues, as either unpoliſhed in their phraſeology, or confined in their circulation; and therefore have had recourſe to the language of ancient Rome. The rays of ſcience and learning, that beam from many valuable productions, have been tranſmitted to the world through this clear and beautiful medium. This is the language in which were compoſed the invaluable productions of Eraſmus, Grotius, Puffendorff, Newton, Boerhaave, Bacon, and Gravina.

Even in the preſent age, every writer who wiſhes his works to deſcend to remote poſterity, muſt not venture to erect the monuments of his fame with the periſhable materials which modern languages ſupply,

ſupply, highly refined and firmly eſtabliſhed as they may appear. They are in a ſtate of conſtant fluctuation, and are ſubject to the caprices of faſhion and novelty: but the Latin is fixed and permanent. The phraſeology of Chaucer and Hollinſhed, of Malherbe and Rabelais, has long been obſolete, and in a ſtate of old age; whilſt that of Horace and Cicero, tried by the teſt of centuries, and conſecrated by the reſpect of mankind, flouriſhes in perpetual youth. The language once ſpoken by the conquerors of the world, is ſtill uſed to expreſs the dictates of gratitude, honour, and veneration. It is inſcribed upon the public edifices; it diſtinguiſhes the monuments and the medals of every country in Europe; and tranſmits the remembrance of ſcholars, philoſophers, patriots, and heroes, through the ſucceeding generations of mankind, in terms, which, with reſpect both to dignity and preciſion, no modern tongue can equal.

At the revival of learning, the opinion of ſcholars was by no means uniform, as to the proper ſtandard of Latin compoſition. Longolius, Bembo, Paulus Manutius, and other writers of conſiderable note, were advocates for the excluſive imitation of Cicero, and endeavoured to gain the claſſic palm, by preſenting in their works a ſervile copy of his ſtyle. The impropriety of this predilection was fully proved, and the right of the other claſſics to a due ſhare of attention was ably maintained by Henry Stephens, Politian, and Eraſmus. This controverſy, carried on with ſo much warmth and

ingenuity on both ſides, has long ceaſed: the great Roman Orator has been allowed to give the law of elegant writing to ſucceeding times; and this prerogative is founded upon the admirable perſpicuity, copiouſneſs, and richneſs of his diction. Virgil reigns with unrivalled ſway in the province of poetry, and his works have fixed the ſtandard of Latin verſification. Modern writers have riſen to fame in exact proportion as they have employed their diligence and taſte, in the imitation of theſe great maſters; but ſubject, however, to that defect, which neceſſarily attends the ſtudy of a foreign language, the expreſſions generally take a tincture from their native tongue; and in the Roman diſguiſe may frequently be diſcovered the features of the French, the German, and the Engliſh. Juſtice however reſtrains us from applying this obſervation with equal force to the Italians, as the derivation of their language, and their deſcent from a Roman origin, enable them to tread more exactly in the ſteps of their illuſtrious anceſtors.

To acquire ſuch claſſical knowledge, as to be able to write Latin with eaſe and elegance, can only be the work of him, who is equally a ſound ſcholar and a man of taſte. He muſt be ſenſible, that a good ſtyle does not conſiſt in a cloſe and ſervile imitation of any author in particular; but that it depends upon an intimate acquaintance with the pureſt writers, particularly thoſe of the Auguſtan age. He muſt examine the nature of their works, develope the art, and unravel the texture of

of their compoſitions[a]. His next care muſt be to adapt their expreſſions to his own ideas, in a manner ſuitable to the nature of his ſubject, whether it be theological, ſcientific, hiſtorical or poetical; and, when he adorns himſelf with the dreſs of the ancients, he muſt endeavour to move with grace, and ſpeak with eaſe and dignity. Thus, it is preſumed, may be acquired, by attentive obſervation and repeated trials, that diction which is pure, but not affected; learned but not pedantic; and claſſical at the ſame time that it is original. Theſe are the fair colours of ſtyle, which adorn the elegant, luminous, and flowing periods of Gravina and Lowth; and the harmonious and poliſhed verſes of Milton, Vida, and Sannazarius.

[a] See Walchius de Imitatione, c. xiv. p. 691. and c. xv.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

The Greek Language.

THE aſſertion will not perhaps be liable to be controverted by thoſe, who are beſt acquainted with ſuch ſubjects, and are beſt qualified to make extenſive and juſt compariſons, if it be ſaid that the Greek claims the ſuperiority over all other languages. In its numerous modes of expreſſion there is preciſion without obſcurity, and copiouſneſs without redundance. It owes the former to the various and diverſified inflections of its words, and the latter to the great number of its derivatives. In its general ſtructure and formation, a proper regard is paid to the ear, as well as to the underſtanding; for its energy and ſtrength are not more ſtriking than its harmony. The ſtrictneſs of its rule does not impoſe too much reſtraint upon its expreſſions, and its grammatical ſyſtem is in every part exact and complete*.

From a ſhort view of its *hiſtory* and *characteriſtics*, it will be evident, that this language deſerves to be held up as a perfect model of expreſſion, and that it fully juſtifies the praiſe of thoſe ſcholars

* See Monboddo's Origin of Languages, vol. iv. p. 25, &c.

and

and critics, who have celebrated its excellence in proportion as they have enjoyed its beauties, and derived taſte, improvement, and pleaſure, from the peruſal of its incomparable writers.

The Eaſt was the fruitful ſource of the literature, as well as of the ſcience, and the mythology of the Greeks. Letters were communicated by Cadmus and his Phœnician followers to them; and they were more indebted to the roving diſpoſition, or the neceſſities of ſtrangers, than to their own active curioſity, for this acquiſition. It is probable that, before they received this valuable ſpecies of knowledge, they repreſented their thoughts by delineating the figures of plants and animals, as the Egyptians did in their hieroglyphics, becauſe the Greek word γραφειν ſignifies both *to paint* and *to write*; and σημεια, or σημεια, mean as well the *images of natural objects*, as *artificial marks*, or *characters*.

The oral language of ancient Greece, before it roſe from a ſtate of barbariſm, was ſimple and uncompounded. It was formed from the primitive dialects of the Hellenians and Pelaſgians. So ſmall was the original ſtock of Grecian eloquence, that all the words are derived from an inconſiderable number of primitives. But the acute and ingenious ſpirit of the people gradually diſplayed itſelf in the increaſe and improvement of their modes of expreſſion, as they advanced in the cultivation of other arts, and the progreſſive ſtages of civilized life.

The

The names of the original characters of Phœnicia and thoſe of Greece are ſimilar; aud the reſemblance of their forms, and the ancient mode of writing from the right hand to the left, which is common to them both, furniſh a deciſive proof, that they had one and the ſame origin. In proceſs of time they changed their arrangement in writing, and inſcribed their characters in alternate order, from the left to the right, and from right to left, as appeared by many authentic monuments of antiquity, particularly the celebrated Sigean inſcription, of which a curious repreſentation is given in Shuckford's Connection of ſacred and profane Hiſtory [b]. Some letters were afterwards added, the powers of others were altered, written vowels were introduced to ſupply that deficiency which was common to Greek with all the Oriental dialects; and the combinations of vowels called diphthongs were introduced, which are in a great degree peculiar to the Greek language. The diviſions into dialects were gradually formed by the independent and unconnected people, whoſe names they bear; and as they had no common metropolis, they adapted their modes of ſpeech to their own provincial manners and characters. The

[b] Vol. i. p. 264, &c. Plato ſeems to intimate that the Greek language was derived from the Hebrew, which he calls the language of the Barbarians. He divides words into two claſſes; the primitive, which he aſcribes to God; and the derivative, which he attributes to human invention. Plato in Cratylo. Montfaucon Palœographia, p. 115. 121. 553. Voſſius de Arte Gramm. lib. i. c. 10.

Doric,

Doric, of which the Eolic was a branch, was ſpoken in Bœotia, the Peloponneſus, Epirus, Crete, Sicily, and all the Grecian colonies planted upon the coaſts of Italy. It was characteriſtic of the unpoliſhed manners of the Dorians themſelves, and bore ſome analogy to that grandeur and ſimplicity of deſign, which are viſible in the remaining ſpecimens of their architecture. The moſt perfect examples of this dialect, which the ravages of time have ſpared, exiſt in the Paſtorals of Theocritus, the Odes of Pindar, and the mathematical treatiſes of Archimedes. Although the Ionic is the prevailing dialect of Homer, he has diverſified his works with the various forms of expreſſion which the others ſupplied. The favourable opportunities afforded by his travels into the different parts of Greece and its colonies, furniſhed him with this advantage, and gave him a complete command of every kind of provincial phraſeology [c]. The progreſſive improvements of the Ionians were communicated to their dialect, which was ſpoken on all the populous coaſts of Aſia Minor, as well as in the territories of Attica. The witty and ingenious inhabitants of that province, advanced it to that ſtate of refinement, elegance, and ſweetneſs, which charm the claſſical reader in the Tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, the Comedies of Ariſtophanes, the Works of Xenophon, the Dialogues of Plato, the Treatiſes of Ariſtotle, and the Orations of Demoſthenes.

[c] Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, p. 282, &c.

The

The Athenians were celebrated for the greateſt delicacy of taſte. Even the inferior claſſes of citizens decided not only upon the ſentiments delivered by the public ſpeakers, but criticiſed the purity of their language, and the harmony of their periods. So exquiſite was their judgment, as oftentimes to border upon faſtidiouſneſs; and the leaſt deviation from the eſtabliſhed rules of propriety offended their ears. As a remarkable inſtance of their refinement, we are told that Theophraſtus, the celebrated author of the Characters, a native of Leſbos, and a diſciple of Plato, who gave him his name for the fluency and elegance of his diction, was diſcovered by one of the common people of Athens to be a ſtranger, by his too great accuracy of pronunciation[4].

The theory of derivation adopted by Lord Monboddo, the author of "the Origin and Progreſs of Language," according to which all the words of the Greek language are derived from duads of vowels, originated with Hemſterhuſius, one of the moſt eminent ſcholars of his age. Not only the vowels regularly taken from Α to Υ, and terminated with Ω, are made the baſis of this plan; but the moſt ancient conſonants are either prefixed to them, or inſerted between them, ſo as to form about a hundred

[4] Illa Attica anus Theophraſtum hominem alioqui diſertiſſimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi hoſpitem dixit: nec alio ſe id deprehendiſſe, interrogata reſpondit, quam quòd *nimium Attice* loqueretur. Quint. lib. 8. c. 1.

radical

radical verbs. With theſe, other conſonants and vowels were mixed, and variouſly combined; and thus the whole language is ſuppoſed to have been gradually conſtructed and furniſhed with its abundant ſtores of derivative words *.

We do not heſitate to acknowledge, that this theory is very ingenious, and deſerves the examination of thoſe, who are fond of inveſtigating the origin of languages. The Greek, no doubt, is diſtinguiſhed by very ſtrong marks of a methodical ſtructure. But ought it not to be conſidered, whether language, like the government of nations, does not ariſe out of peculiar circumſtances and ſituations? Is it not probable that neceſſity, the invention of arts, and the exerciſe of various occupations, are its genuine ſources? After a people have emerged from a ſavage ſtate, in which all their attention has been employed in procuring the means of ſubſiſtence, and they have made ſome conſiderable advances in refinement, they have then leiſure to fix the proper ſtandard of their language, to reduce it to order, and complete its artificial form. For its origin, therefore, it can be little indebted to the ſyſtematic preciſion of rules, whatever it may owe to them for its improvement. The ages of barbariſm may produce warriors and legiſlators; but it required a leſs turbulent and more refined ſtate of ſociety, for grammarians and philologiſts to ariſe,

* Origin and Progreſs of Language, vol. ii. p. 540. vol. iv. p. 54. Lennep's Etymologicon Prolegom. p. 27. and vol. ii.

and

and for works of literature to be compoſed, and regulated by their laws.

I. *The Characteriſtics of the Greek Language.*

Among its numerous beauties, it is deſervedly celebrated for ſweetneſs, as well as variety of ſounds, to which our pronunciation is far from doing juſtice, from a want of the ſame compaſs, and modulation of tones. By tranſpoſing, altering, and taking away letters, the Greek was ſoftened, and made more pleaſing to the ear. The diphthongs, as well as the open vowels, ſwell and elevate the tones, in a manner ſuperior to modern languages. The declenſions of nouns, the conjugations of verbs, the changes of dialects, and the number of poetical licences, produce the greateſt variety of terminations. Many words are cloſed with vowels, and very few with mute conſonants, as is the caſe in the Oriental and other languages.

In the works of Homer in particular, the beauty of ſingle words, conſidered only with reſpect to ſound, is remarkable. With conſummate ſkill and taſte, he has made choice of ſuch as are rough or ſmooth, long or ſhort, harmonious or diſcordant to the ear, ſo as to agree exactly with the nature of his different ſubjects. The names of perſons, rivers, mountains, and countries, are ſometimes ſoft and flowing, and ſometimes grand and ſonorous, and contribute

contribute in no ſmall degree to improve the charms of his deſcriptions[f].

The works of the beſt Greek authors are much to be admired for the ſkilful arrangement of words, and the beauties of finiſhed compoſition. From the accurate diſtinctions made by genders and caſes in nouns, and by perſons in verbs, no invariable ſituation of words was neceſſary; and conſequently ſuch as were declinable could not be placed in any part of a ſentence without injury to its perſpicuity. In this reſpect modern languages are very defective; for, as the nouns and verbs in general are indeclinable, and muſt be attached to their reſpective articles and auxiliary verbs, an uniform and fixed poſition is neceſſary, in which no change can be made without detriment to the ſenſe, if not total confuſion of it. Greek compoſitions, on the contrary, abound with grand and lofty ſentences, conſiſting of members of various extent, terminating ſometimes with one part of ſpeech, and ſometimes with another. Hence the ear is conſtantly gratified by an endleſs variety of pauſes, and an harmonious flow of periods; and an emphatical word, like the principal figure in a picture, is placed where it will produce the moſt ſtriking effect. In poetry this arrangement is ſtill more remarkable, as it is accommodated to every different kind of metre. All theſe changes were

[f] Homer's Catalogue of the Ships will illuſtrate this remark: if taken in a geographical point of view, it may be conſidered as an accurate map of antient Greece. Iliad, lib. ii. l. 494, &c.

made with ſo much ſkill and effect, as to ſatisfy the refined judgment of Homer, and Pindar, Plato, and Demoſthenes. Unable as the moderns are to equal theſe beauties, or even to form a complete idea of their nature; yet the delicacy of taſte and extent of knowledge poſſeſſed by the ancient critics, who lived ſome ages after the moſt flouriſhing era of Grecian literature, amply qualified them for this purpoſe. Both Dionyſius the Halicarnaſſian and Demetrius Phalereus enter into particular and critical diſcuſſions on the melodious conſtruction of Greek ſentences, in proſe as well as verſe, conduct their obſervations upon regular principles, and illuſtrate them by the examples of the moſt eminent authors.

Other characteriſtic properties of the Greek language will appear by conſidering the particles, which connect ſentences and members of ſentences with each other. They are, indeed, too often regarded by ſuperficial readers as redundant, or unmeaning; but when cloſely examined, they are found to poſſeſs particular force, energy, and preciſion[g]. The diminutive words give great exactneſs and beauty to expreſſion, and are calculated to annex to an object ſome pleaſing idea of tenderneſs

[g] Τοῖς παραπληρωματικοῖς συνδεσμοις χρηστεον ουχ' ὡς προσθηκαις κεναῖς—καθαπερ παρα Πλατωνι "Ο μεν δη μεγας ἡγεμων εν ουρανω Ζευς." Και παρ' Ὁμηρῳ "Αλλ' οτε δη" &c. Λαμβανεται δε και εν παθητικοῖς πολλακις ὁ συνδεσμος ουτος· ὡσπερ—"ουτω δε οικονδε"—Ει γουν τον συνδεσμον εξελοις, συνεξαιρησεις και το παθος.—Demetrius Phalereus περι Ἑρμηνειας. See Clarke's Homer's Iliad A. l. 56. B. l. 158. E. 858, &c.

or

or familiarity. The dual number accurately diſtinguiſhes two perſons from one, as well as from an indiſcriminate and vague multitude. Different inflections of the ſame caſes of nouns are adapted to all the uſes of poetry and proſe. The power of the double negative is very ſenſibly felt; and there are inſtances, where prohibition or contradiction is guarded even by three negatives, which enforce the ſentiment in the greateſt degree. In greek and in greek alone occur the grammatical ſoleciſms of a verb ſingular being joined to a neutral plural, and of the union of an article, or adjective maſculine with a ſubſtantive feminine. The middle voice has the peculiar power of expreſſing, that a perſon is the ſubject of his own actions. The tenſes are more numerous and more definite than thoſe of any other language. In Greek alone are to be found a paſt imperative mood, a participle preſent of the paſſive voice, and a paulo-poſt future tenſe. Conditional action is denoted by the ſubjunctive, and ſuch as relates to an object of deſire, by the optative mood. The variety and exactneſs of ideas diſplayed in all the modifications of the verb ſhow a refinement of thought, and a depth of metaphyſical reaſoning, applied to the diviſions of time, which prove the peculiar acuteneſs and unrivalled invention of the Greeks [b].

[b] Artium parens et altrix Græca diligentia eſt:
Literarum porro curam nulla gens attentius
Repperit: polivit uſque finem ad unguis extimum.
Terentianus Maurus.

The freedom of expreſſion which the Greek Poets allowed themſelves to uſe is a peculiarity which cannot eſcape our attention. They made ſyllables long or ſhort, added them to the beginning, middle, or end of ſome words, cut them off from the beginning, middle, or end of others, and tranſpoſed letters as they pleaſed. Examples of all theſe licences may eaſily be found, and particularly in Homer, who has availed himſelf of this privilege to the fulleſt extent.

The prolific power of their language was not limited by any fixed bounds, or reſtrained by any certain rules. Verbs were the fruitful trees, which produced innumerable branches ſpringing from each other in the greateſt abundance and variety. They are ſometimes compounded with each other, and ſometimes with ſubſtantives; nouns are formed from them, and even from different tenſes and perſons of the ſame verb[1]. But the power of compounding them with prepoſitions was of a much more extraordinary extent. With any one of the eighteen prepoſitions any verb, unleſs its ſignification made it naturally repugnant to ſuch an alli-

[1] See Clarke's ingenious ſyſtem of the Greek tenſes, in his note on line 37 of the firſt book of the Iliad.

From πεποιημαι, ησαι, ηται, are derived ποιημα, ποιησοις, ποιητης. See Monboddo, v. ii. p. 185.

There are thirty-four inſtances at leaſt of the verb being compounded with double prepoſitions, ανθιμβαλλω, ανθιπαραβαλλω, ανθιπροβαλλω, &c. Inſtances of a verb and three prepoſitions, ſuch as υπερεκπροφευω, are not uncommon in Homer. See Lord Monboddo, and Valkenaer apud Lennep, p. 24, 25.

ance,

ance, could be joined. There are numerous inſtances of ſuch combinations, and likewiſe of double and even treble prepoſitions being united with verbs and nouns. As ſuch compound words poſſeſs an unrivalled ſtrength, richneſs, and ſignificant brevity, they ſhow the creative powers of a language, which contains inexhauſtible reſources. Their effect is more particularly felt in poetry, which they ſupply with one of its moſt ſtriking and beautiful ornaments. To the genius of Homer they furniſhed appropriate expreſſion, and enabled him to give, even to an epithet, ſuch diſtinct and pictureſque ideas, as poets in many other languages convey with leſs effect in long deſcriptions. To this power of compounding words ſo extenſive and unbounded, few reſemblances can be traced more appoſite than the indefinite combination of letters to form words, and the multiplication of numbers in arithmetic.

From ſuch powers of language naturally aroſe a proportionable copiouſneſs. Even as early as the time of Homer, it had aſſumed a permanent character: and his works, produced in the infancy of arts and civilization, afforded a ſatisfactory proof, to what various ſubjects it could be applied. So full and complete indeed is the nature of his ſtyle, ſo far is it from affording any ground for complaints of its weakneſs and deficiency, that all ſcholars unite in their admiration of its energy and copiouſneſs. What are the thoughts of Virgil, Taſſo, or any modern poet, to which the diction

of Homer, and the other great Grecian poets, could not give adequate expreſſion, and even embelliſh with additional and ſuperior beauties of harmony, richneſs, and variety of compoſition?

II. *Style of Greek Writers.*

Thus to the fertile and happy invention of writers of all deſcriptions did the Greek language ſupply an abundant ſtore of the moſt ſignificant terms; and every conception of the mind, every appearance of nature, and production of art, were conveyed by correſpondent and adequate words. The hiſtorian, the orator, and the philoſopher, exerciſed the ſame freedom, energy, and beauty of expreſſion, as the poet himſelf. The effect of genius upon the Grecian language was like that of the ſun, when it varies the glowing tints of light, and touches the clouds with the richeſt and moſt beautiful diverſity of colours. Herodotus, the firſt of Grecian hiſtorians, adorned his curious and entertaining work with the vocal flow and poetical terminations of the Ionic, and Thucydides diſtinguiſhed his celebrated hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war by the elegance and vigour of the attic dialect.

The Greek language aſſumed with eaſe the various forms in which Eloquence ſtrove to perſuade and Philoſophy to inſtruct mankind. Ariſtotle was conciſe, and vigorous; Plato was diffuſe and poetical; Xenophon was ſimple and elegant. The comedies

comedies of Ariſtophanes and Menander, however unlike in their characters and ſentiments, were both improved by the pure and refined beauties of their native dialect. Theocritus gave the artleſs graces of Doric ſimplicity to his paſtorals; and Sappho conveyed her tender ſentiments of paſſion in the pleaſing cadences of that kind of verſification, which is emphatically diſtinguiſhed by her name. The Alcaic Ode, the Elegy, and the Epigram are all marked by their own peculiar characters. The eaſy flow of Iambics, and the irregular combination of choral meaſures, adorned the dramatic productions of Æſchylus, Eurypides, and Sophocles. Their language was a perfect image of the bold and verſatile genius of the people who ſpoke it; for it embraced the wide extent of human perceptions, was moulded into every form, and produced aſtoniſhment by its force, captivated attention by its beauty, and enraptured the ear by its varied and delightful melody*.

While the Greeks conveyed the dictates of philoſophy to the underſtanding, held up the moſt pleaſing pictures to the imagination, or by the impulſe of paſſion melted and ſubdued the heart, the dreſs, in which they clothed their ideas, was at once rich, elegant, and graceful; and while they roſe to an elevation of genius, courage, and

* I conſider the principal Greek writers in this place ſolely with a view to their various kinds of ſtyle. The other characteriſtics of their works will be noticed in the hiſtory of Greece.

taſte, which has never been equalled, their words were the moſt harmonious, nervous, and expreſſive, that ever flowed from mortal lips.

From conſidering the excellence of this extraordinary language, we may indeed be diſpoſed to excuſe, or more properly ſpeaking, to applaud, the exalted ſtyle of praiſe, in which its powers were celebrated, by thoſe who were the moſt competent judges of its merits. The accents which flowed from the lips of the venerable Neſtor were deſcribed by Homer as exceeding the ſweetneſs of honey. It is an obſervation of the great Roman orator, that if Jupiter had communicated his will to mankind, he would have adopted the language of Plato. When Pericles addreſſed the Athenian aſſemblies, he did not, in the opinion of his contemporaries, merely convince his hearers by his perſuaſive arguments; but, to uſe the exalted language of his countrymen, majeſtic in voice and aſpect, and irreſiſtible in force, as if he commanded the elements of heaven, he overpowered the faculties of his aſtoniſhed hearers with the thunder and lightning of his eloquence.

III. *Duration and Extent of the Language.*

In addition to the curious circumſtances, which diſtinguiſh the Greek language, it may be remarked, that it was ſpoken and written with purity and elegance for a greater portion of time, than

any other ever known in the world[1]. The long period of twenty-three centuries will ſcarcely meaſure its continuance. We have ſeen, that as early as the time of Homer its ſtandard was fixed, and it continued to be cultivated till Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks, in the fifteenth century. A ſhort time before that event, although it exiſted in a degenerate ſtate among the common people, it was ſpoken with ſuch correctneſs and elegance by perſons of a liberal education, and particularly by the ladies of rank and high condition, as to give no very imperfect ſpecimen of the ſtyle of Ariſtophanes, Euripides, and the philoſophers and hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in the pureſt times. Such is the very curious fact related by the learned Philelphus, who viſited the metropolis of the eaſtern empire twelve years only before it was taken by the Turks. The intermediate corruptions can only be marked by ſcholars of more than ordinary acuteneſs and erudition. By ſuch alone can the different colours and ſhades of diction be diſtinguiſhed in the works of writers, who lived at times ſo remote from Xenophon and Plato, as Euſtathius, the commentator on Homer, Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor Alexias, Chalcondylas, Procopius, and other writers, included in the liſt of the Byzantine hiſtorians.

[1] ——————— cui non certaverit ulla,
Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos.
Virg. Georg. 1. l. 99.

The

The difference between pure Greek and that which was ſpoken and written by foreigners was much more ſtrongly marked. The writers of the New Teſtament fall much below the claſſical ſtandard. Hebrew idioms, and words uſed in new ſenſes, abound in their writings; and their ſtyle, which by modern ſcholars is called *Helleniſtic*, to diſtinguiſh it from pure Greek, will not bear the teſt of rigid criticiſm. Yet it is far from being of an uniform character, ſince we find that St. Luke wrote with more purity of expreſſion, St. John with more ſimplicity and plainneſs, and St. Paul with greater copiouſneſs and variety, than the other ſacred writers. They approached nearer to pure Greek in proportion as they poſſeſſed the advantages of education, and were improved by intercourſe with the higher ranks of ſociety.

As this continued long to be a living language, ſo was its circulation very extenſive. Under the ſucceſſors of Alexander it was carried far beyond the limits of the Greek provinces, and long before the Chriſtian era it was ſpoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was cultivated by the learned in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Carthage. Joſephus and Philo Judæus preferred it to their native language: and the writers of the New Teſtament adopted it as the beſt means to facilitate the propagation of Chriſtianity. This was the language of the early Roman hiſtorians, and both Lucullus and Cicero uſed it to

to record the accounts of their public tranſactions. Of its general prevalence, the latter ſpeaks in explicit terms in his Oration for Archias the poet; where he informs us, that, at a period when Latin was confined to very few diſtricts; the Greek authors were ſtudied, and their language was ſpoken in moſt parts of the world. With reſpect therefore to its wide diffuſion, the ancient Greek may be compared to modern French, which at preſent forms ſo faſhionable and ſo general a branch of education. But whatever degree of delicacy the French may poſſeſs in common with the Greek, it wants many of its moſt diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, and in particular its grace and harmony, its preciſion and copiouſneſs, its vigour and ſublimity.

There were many cauſes for the great extent of the Greek language. Numerous colonies planted in different parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa; the commerce of the Greek merchants; the conqueſts of Alexander the Great, and the permanent eſtabliſhments, which he made, by building many large cities, contributed to this end. But the cauſe, which produced this diffuſion more than all others, was the intrinſic excellence of the language itſelf. It is a remarkable fact, that at the period when the provinces of Greece were reduced to the meaneſt vaſſalage, and the character of the people was ſunk to the loweſt ſtate of diſgrace in the opinion of their conquerors, their language ſtill continued to retain its high and original

original reputation, and was ſtudied not only by the Romans, but by perſons of reſpectability and diſtinction in all parts of the ancient world. The pure Greek, as a living language, finally ſunk with the power of the eaſtern empire under the triumphant arms of the Turks.

IV. *Modern Greek.*

Every ſcholar muſt naturally be deſirous to aſcertain the preſent ſtate of the Greek language. Its deviation from that which was formerly ſpoken, both with reſpect to pronunciation and grammar, is very conſiderable. The words of the language indeed, like Italian and Latin, are in ſubſtance the ſame as thoſe of ancient Greek; there is, however, an intermixture of Turkiſh with that which is ſpoken in Aſia; of Arabic with that which prevails on the coaſts of Africa; and of Italian with that which is uſed at Benevento, and other parts of Italy. The modern Greeks pay only ſo much attention to Grammar, as conſiſts in forming two caſes by inflection, namely, the genitive and the accuſative; and the perſons and numbers of the verbs: but with reſpect to declenſions and conjugations they obſerve no rules. In their conjugations they imitate the general practice of the moderns, by conſtantly making uſe of auxiliary verbs. In their pronunciation they ſtrictly attend to accent, and hence the quantity of words is not only diſregarded, but often moſt groſsly violated; and they have intirely loſt

loſt that ſweet modulation and variety of ſound, which graced the lips of their anceſtors[m]. Such is their neglect of ancient literature, that the New Teſtament, as well as the works of their own claſſics, have been tranſlated for their uſe. The decline of their language has kept pace with the degeneracy of their manners: for in conſequence of a neglect of compoſition, and inattention to the ancient models of elegance and purity, they ſpeak a barbarous and coarſe dialect. The deſcendants of Pericles and Demoſthenes, oppreſſed by a deſpotic government, and immerſed in bigotry and ſuperſtition, are ignorant of the pure phraſeology of their illuſtrious anceſtors; and it is a remarkable fact, that of the ſeventy different jargons, which are now ſpoken in Greece, that of the Athenians is held to be the moſt corrupt and barbarous[n]. The mixture of their language with the dialect of Turkey and other nations bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the magnificent ruins of marble temples, remarkable for exquiſite architecture, which are ſeen in the ſtreets of Athens to ſupport the rude cottages and mean ſheds of the Grecian ſlaves.

From the whole of this ſurvey of the *Engliſh*, *Latin*, and *Greek* languages, we may form a judgment of the origin, progreſs, characteriſtics, and

[m] Monboddo. Forſter on Accent and Quantity, p. 207. For an elegant ſketch of the political and literary ſtate of Greece during her good and bad fortune, ſee Harris's Philol. Inquiries, c. iii.

[n] De Pauw, v. i. p. 70.

beauties

beauties of each; and we may be enabled to determine their reſpective merits. When we allow to the Greek all its due praiſe for harmony, copiouſneſs, and that amazing ductility, by which it could expreſs with eaſe, in derivative and compound words, new indeed, but perfectly analogical, every diſcovery in ſcience, or invention in the arts; when we commend the Latin for its majeſty, preciſion, and vigour;—and when we hold up the claſſical writers in each as the beſt models of learning and taſte, let us not neglect to form a proper eſtimate of *our own* tongue. The Engliſh language, deriving its ſtock of words from ſo many different ſources, and very imperfectly underſtood without the aid of Greek and Latin, is energetic, rich, and copious. And, perhaps, if we were confined to the knowledge of a ſingle modern language to the excluſion of all others, no one could be found better adapted to all the purpoſes of ſocial intercourſe; more capable of expreſſing the general ſentiments of the mind, or more deſerving the praiſe, which we have, it is preſumed on a due conſideration of its comparative merits, aſſigned to it °.

° See p. 140.

CHAPTER VI.

Eloquence.

"NOTHING ſeems to me more excellent, than to be able to engage the affections, convince the underſtandings, and guide the inclinations of whole aſſemblies, and even to direct thoſe inclinations from their original courſe into a new channel, by the commanding powers of eloquence. This noble faculty has in every free ſtate, more particularly in times of peace and tranquillity, been always held in the higheſt eſteem, and obtained the greateſt influence. And indeed what can be a juſter ſubject of admiration, than that amidſt a vaſt multitude one man only, or a very ſmall number, ſhould riſe ſuperior to all others in the exerciſe of that power, which nature has equally beſtowed upon all the human race? Or what is ſo pleaſing to the ear, or ſo gratifying to the underſtanding, as a judicious and ſolid diſcourſe delivered in elegant and poliſhed language? Or what is ſo efficacious, or ſo noble, as to influence the people, the judges, and the ſenate, by the charms of oratory? What is ſo great, ſo generous, or divine, as to reſcue the virtuous from oppreſſion, and protect the unfortunate from injuſtice? Can any thing be more uſeful than to be always furniſhed

niſhed with the arms which eloquence ſupplies, to aſſert your rights, and to repel the attacks of injury? And not to confine our obſervations within the limits of the courts of juſtice, or the ſenate-houſe, what is there in the midſt of retirement from buſineſs more agreeable and entertaining; what better proof can be given of the refinements of a liberal education, than a flow of elegant and poliſhed converſation? It is indeed the peculiar characteriſtic of our nature, which diſtinguiſhes us from the brute creation, that we can expreſs our thoughts by language, and both enjoy and communicate the pleaſures of ſocial intercourſe. Who therefore does not hold ſuch an endowment in great eſtimation? and who does not think it an object of honourable ambition to ſurpaſs others in the exerciſe of that faculty, in which rational beings ſhew their aſcendency over inferior animals? But not to dwell upon inconſiderable points, let us proceed to the moſt material.—What other power than that of eloquence could have proved ſufficiently efficacious to induce the ſcattered individuals of mankind to quit a rude and ſavage life, in order to form regular communities? and what other power could have ſoftened their barbarity by the refinements of civilized manners, or after ſtates were founded, what other power, I ſay, could have reſtrained them by ſalutary inſtitutions, and ſecured their proſperity and happineſs by forms of government, and eſtabliſhments of law? To cloſe this ſubject, which is indeed almoſt inexhauſtible, I lay it down as an indiſputable principle,

ciple, that upon the prudence and talents of an accompliſhed ſpeaker, not only his own perſonal reſpectability, but the welfare of numerous individuals, nay even the ſafety of the government depend. I therefore earneſtly exhort you, my young friends, to perſevere in your preſent courſe, and to cultivate with inceſſant diligence the ſtudy of eloquence, for the ſake of your own reputation, the advantage of your friends, and the proſperity and glory of your country [p].

Such is an imperfect repreſentation of the animated and luminous encomium, which Cicero, in the beginning of his celebrated Dialogue de Oratore, pronounced upon his favourite art. And to teach the beſt uſe of this noble faculty of ſpeaking, and point out the method by which it can be made to anſwer the moſt important purpoſes, is the great end of the art of Rhetoric. It is evident that no ſtudy more fully repays the labour beſtowed upon its cultivation, if we reflect upon the riſe and progreſs of eloquence in the early ages of the world, and the great improvements which have been made in it

[p] Cicero de Oratore, lib. i. ſect. 30. Edit. Prouſt. And he has comprized the advantages of eloquence in another paſſage too beautiful to be omitted.—"Jam vero domina rerum eloquendi vis, quam eſt præclara, quamque divina! quæ primum effecit, ut ea quæ ignoramus, diſcere, & ea quæ ſcimus, alios docere poſſimus. Deinde hâc cohortamur, hâc perſuademus, hâc conſolamur afflictos, hâc deducimus perterritos a timore hæc geſtientes comprimimus, hæc cupiditates, iracundiaſque reſtinguimus: hæc nos juris, legum, urbium ſocietate devinxit, hæc a vita immani & fera ſegregavit." De Natura Deorum, lib. 2.

both in ancient and modern times. We may recollect the extraordinary degree of perfection to which it was carried by Demoſthenes and Cicero; and their productions which have come down to us give the moſt ſatisfactory proofs that they were conſummate maſters of their art, and that they excelled in it, not leſs by the extent and variety of their knowledge, than the brilliancy of their genius. In our own times, we ſee the effects produced by rude and unpoliſhed eloquence upon the minds of the common people in the harangues of crafty demagogues, and the ſermons of itinerant enthuſiaſts: it is evident, therefore, what a powerful inſtrument of perſuaſion and utility it may be rendered, when placed in the hands of well-educated perſons, who to all the natural advantages of voice, action, and abilities, which ignorant ſpeakers may poſſeſs, unite the guidance of rules, and an acquaintance with the beſt examples[q].

Nor will a knowledge of the principles of Rhetoric, upon which the chief beauties of compoſition depend for their grace and effect, be of inconſiderable uſe to the *hearer* or *reader*, as well as the *ſpeaker*. It will enable them to unravel the intricacies of compoſition in general, whether in verſe or proſe, to underſtand the principles upon which it is founded, and to form a right judgment of its merits.

[q] For the principal heads of this chapter, I am indebted to that rich ſtorehouſe of knowledge, the Encyclopædia Britannica, article *Oratory*.

If

If objections be ever ſtarted againſt eloquence, conſidered as a faculty, which may be made the inſtrument of evil as well as of good, it is obvious that ſimilar objections may be urged againſt the exerciſe of the faculty of reaſon, as it is too often employed to lead men into error. But no one would think of bringing a ſerious argument from this abuſe of the intellectual powers againſt the improvement of our underſtandings[r]. Reaſon, eloquence, and every art moſt eſſential to the comfort of life, are liable to be miſapplied, and may prove dangerous in the hands of bad men; but it would argue an exceſs of levity to contend, that upon this account they ought to be neglected, and held in no eſtimation. While the orator employs his talents, and practices the rules of his profeſſion, in the purſuit of that end for which it was originally deſigned,—the perſuading men to good and virtuous actions, and the diſſuading them from every meaſure that is diſhonourable and vicious; nothing can be more excellent in itſelf, or more uſeful to ſociety."

Rhetoric *is the art of ſpeaking and writing with elegance and dignity, in order to pleaſe, inſtruct, and perſuade.* Elegance conſiſts in the purity and perſpicuity of language[s]. The former may be acquired by ſtudying the moſt excellent authors, by converſing with the beſt company, and the frequent practice of compoſition. The latter

[r] Quint. lib. ii. c. 17.
[s] Ariſt. Rhet. lib. iii. c. 2. Quint. lib. viii. c. 2. &c.

conſiſts in making uſe of the cleareſt and moſt intelligible expreſſions, in avoiding ambiguous words, affected brevity, perplexity of periods, and confuſion of metaphors. Dignity ariſes from ſublime thoughts, and noble and elevated tropes and figures.

It may be thought unreaſonable to fetter the mind by ſyſtems, and reſtrain the flights of eloquence by rules. But it is evident from experience and obſervation, that rules may greatly aſſiſt genius, provided they point out the right road, without confining the learner to a ſingle track, from which he is told it is unlawful to deviate. They are undoubtedly neceſſary before practice gives that eaſe, which may enable him to truſt to his own well-regulated exertions, and proceed without a guide.

To enumerate the rules of Rhetoric would require too minute a detail; and they will be beſt learnt from thoſe writers, who both in ancient and modern times have obtained great reputation by their works upon the ſubject. Such are Ariſtotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and their faithful followers, Blair, Campbell, and Fenelon. To aſcertain the leading principles relating to eloquence in general, it may be ſufficient to conſider its productions under four diſtinct heads.

I. The ſources of argument.

II. The nature of ſtyle, and the ornaments of compoſition.

III. The

III. The arrangement of the different parts of a diſcourſe.

IV. Propriety of action and delivery.

I. *The Sources of Argument.*

I. The baſis of all eloquence is *invention.* It is this prolific faculty, which enables the ſpeaker to form and combine ſuch ideas, as are neceſſary for the ſtatement, explanation, and illuſtration of his ſubject, with a view to conciliate the minds of his hearers, and engage their judgment and paſſions in his favour. A livelineſs of imagination, and a quickneſs of thought, are great aſſiſtants to invention; and they who poſſeſs theſe happy gifts of nature, are found to be rarely at a loſs for reaſons to defend their own opinions, and to diſprove thoſe of their opponents. Of this prime faculty the moſt eminent orators and poets were in full poſſeſſion; and we find that ſo far from giving us any cauſe to complain of barrenneſs of invention, they fill our minds with the abundant produce of intellectual fertility. This remark, among other inſtances, is particularly juſtified by the examples of Homer, Plato, and Cicero. To collect materials for the employment of genius, muſt neceſſarily form the great buſineſs of life. Invention, ſtrictly ſpeaking, implies *diſcovery*, rather than *creation*, and muſt be underſtood to ſignify new combinations of thoſe images, which had been previouſly ſtored in the memory.

Accurate learning and extenſive knowledge, the proſpects of nature, the diſcoveries of art—the aids of education—and the reſults of experience and obſervation upon mankind, are the proper funds to ſupply this faculty with its requiſite ſtores. Hence are furniſhed the various topics, whether *external* or *internal*, which are applicable to the different kinds of cauſes, whether *demonſtrative*, *deliberative*, or *judicial*, and which are treated of at large by the Rhetoricians, and particularly by Ariſtotle and Cicero[t]. The judgment muſt ever be active in the right application of the aſſiſtance, which genius and extenſive knowledge can bring to every particular ſubject; whatever is trifling or ſuperfluous muſt be rejected; and nothing admitted into a compoſition that is not fully to the purpoſe, and calculated to anſwer the end originally propoſed. The bright and clear ſtream of eloquence, aſſiſted by every tributary rill that can increaſe its fulneſs, ſhould flow not in a circuitous and winding courſe, but with a direct and rapid current.

II. *Style, and the Ornaments of Compoſition.*

II. Without the requiſites of a proper ſtyle, and the judicious introduction of the ornaments of compoſition, a diſcourſe will be dry, jejune, and unintereſting. As from hence eloquence derives its chief excellence, beauty and ſplendour; it is of the

[t] Cicero de Inventione, lib. i. p. 55. fol. edit.

greateſt

greateſt importance to the orator to be well acquainted with the conſtituent parts of true ornament, and the various kinds of ſtyle.

Of *ſtyle in general* it may be remarked, that every country poſſeſſes not only a peculiar language, but a peculiar mode of expreſſion, ſuited to the particular temper and genius of its inhabitants. Moſt of the Eaſtern nations are remarkable for a lofty and majeſtic diction, which is full and ſonorous, ſtrong and forcible, and animated by bold and expreſſive figures. On the contrary, the Northern languages are more ſimple, and generally partake of the cold influence of their climate. In the former the warmth of imagination predominates; in the latter there is more of the ſtrictneſs and correctneſs of judgment.

But the principal diſtinctions of ſtyle ariſe from the diverſity of ſubjects. The ſame mode of expreſſion would be as inconſiſtent upon different occaſions, as the ſame dreſs for perſons of different ranks. Propriety, therefore, requires that expreſſion ſhould be adapted to the nature of the ſubject. Style is divided into three kinds, viz. the *low* or *plain* ſtyle; the *middle* or *temperate*; and the *lofty* or *ſublime*.

A *plain* ſtyle is the genuine language of nature; it may be eaſy, inclining to the familiar, and elegant, at the ſame time that it is inartificial and unaffected. As it is deſigned to make things perfectly

intelligible, and to ſet them in a clear light, the proper ſubjects of it are epiſtles, eſſays, narratives, works of ſcience and philoſophy, or any other topics that require to be treated without ornament, or addreſſes to the paſſions. Simplicity and eaſe both of thought and expreſſion are its peculiar beauties; and the choiceſt examples of it are to be found in the works of Xenophon and Cæſar, the Sermons of Secker, and the Tales of Swift.

The *middle* ſtyle is beſt adapted to thoſe ſubjects which require gravity, accuracy, and force of expreſſion. It accords with fine thoughts, as a low ſtyle is beſt ſuited to thoſe which are common, and the ſublime is beſt adapted to thoſe which are great and dignified. A fine thought deſerves that character from poſſeſſing dignity, beauty, delicacy, and novelty. As the ſubjects that belong to the middle ſtyle are important, though not of ſo exalted a nature, as wholly to captivate the mind, and divert it from attending to the diction; ſo it admits all the ornaments and beauties of compoſition. This is the ſphere likewiſe of the moſt highly finiſhed and moſt elaborate writing. This is the ſoil favourable to the growth of the faireſt and moſt beautiful flowers of eloquence. Here ſtrong and emphatical words, flowing periods, harmonious numbers, vivid tropes, and bright and animated figures, find their proper place. The beſt examples of this kind are the dialogues of Plato, the ſpeeches of Livy, and the moſt admired orations of Cicero.

Lofty

Lofty and elevated thoughts form the proper baſis of the *ſublime* ſtyle. Such thoughts relate either to divine ſubjects, to the works of nature, or ſuch expreſſions, or actions, as are eſteemed the nobleſt and the beſt. The true ſublime is perfectly conſiſtent with the greateſt plainneſs and ſimplicity of expreſſion. Depending ſolely on its native energy for its effect upon the mind, it rather rejects than ſolicits the aid of ornament; for when the ſoul is elevated to the utmoſt of its powers by a noble idea, it attends not to the niceties of language; but, from its own vigour and lively conception of things, expreſſes them in terms the moſt conciſe and emphatical, and beſt adapted to their nature. Dignity and majeſty are the proper qualities of this ſpecies of ſtyle, both as to the thought and expreſſion; as may be beſt exemplified by numerous paſſages in the holy Scriptures, the Iliad of Homer, and the Paradiſe Loſt of Milton.

Under the ſublime is properly claſſed the *pathetic* of compoſition, wherein the greateſt power is exerted over the paſſions. Here we are intereſted, agitated, and carried along with the Speaker or Writer, wherever he chooſes to conduct us; our paſſions are made to riſe in uniſon with his; we love, deteſt, admire, reſent, as he inſpires us; and are prompted to feel with fervour, and to act with energy, in obedience to the particular impulſe, which he gives to our minds. Quintilian with great propriety calls this power of moving the paſſions, the ſoul and ſpirit of

of his art"; as the proper uſe of the paſſions is not to blind or to counteract the exerciſe of reaſon, but to move in conformity to it, if an improper impulſe be ſometimes given to them, it is not the fault of the art, but of the artiſt. The Pulpit admits this ſpecies of eloquence, as is clear from the Sermons of Maſſillon and Bourdaloue: but the debates in popular aſſemblies open the moſt extenſive field for its diſplay.

The diction of an orator may include all the characteriſtics of theſe three kinds of ſtyle. As he ſpeaks ſometimes to prove and to inſtruct, ſometimes to entertain and to delight, and ſometimes to rouſe, to animate, and to aſtoniſh, he muſt be occaſionally plain and eaſy, manly and energetic, figurative and flowery, pathetic and ſublime*. All this variety, however, is rarely neceſſary upon the ſame occaſion. Due regard muſt be paid to the nature of the ſubject, the diſpoſitions of the audience, the time, the place, and all other circumſtances. Cicero refers us to ſome orations of his own for examples in each kind. His Oration for Cæcina is written in the low ſtyle, that for the Manilian law in the middle, and that for Rabirius in the ſublime. His Orations againſt Verres are ſpecimens of a mixture of all the different kinds.

* Quint. lib. vi. c. 2.

* Quint. lib. xii. c. 10. et 12.

Figure

Figures of ſpeech were firſt introduced by neceſſity, deriving their origin from a want of ſimple expreſſions. The moſt ancient and moſt original languages, ſuch as the Hebrew, Arabic, American and Indian, are highly pictureſque and metaphorical[x]. That which was at firſt the reſult of neceſſity, was in time cultivated for the ſake of embelliſhment; like garments, which were originally uſed to protect the perſon from the inclemency of the weather, and were afterwards worn alſo for the ſake of ornament[y]. The imagination and the paſſions have a very extenſive influence over every language: their operations are expreſſed by words taken from ſenſible objects; and the names of theſe ſenſible objects were in all languages the words moſt eaſily introduced; and were by degrees extended to thoſe thoughts, of which men had more obſcure conceptions, and to which they found it more difficult to aſſign diſtinct appellations. They borrowed therefore the name of ſome ſenſible idea, where they found, or fancied they found, ſome

[x] "We have planted the tree of Peace, ſaid an American orator, and we have buried the axe under its roots; we will henceforth repoſe under its ſhade; and we will join to brighten the chain which binds our nations together." If we are required to explain how men could be poets or orators before they were aided by the learning of the ſcholar or the critic, we may inquire in our turn, how bodies could fall by their weight, before the laws of gravitation were recorded in books. Mind as well as body has laws, which are exemplified in the practice of men, and which the critic collects only after the example has ſhewn what they are. Ferguſon on Civil Society, p. 264.

[y] Cicero de Orat. lib. iii. c. 28.

affinity.

affinity. Hence the origin of *tropes* and *figures*, the former of which convey two ideas to the mind, by means of one word; the latter throw the ſentence into a different form from the common manner of expreſſion. The uſe of tropes and figures opens the wideſt field for the invention of an orator, as they allow him to give that range to his imagination, which is highly gratifying to a man of genius. *Metaphor*, *metonomy*, *ſynecdoche*, *irony*, *ſimile*, *proſopopœia*, the *antitheſis*, and the *climax*, as they diſplay the ingenuity of a ſpeaker, and ſet off his ideas to advantage; ſo are they capable of affording great pleaſure to his hearers, whenever they riſe naturally from the ſubject, and are introduced with judgment and effect. They fix attention, excite admiration, and inſpire delight; they ſpeak the language of the paſſions, and repreſent the different emotions of the mind, by the moſt lively images of fancy; and, provided they are ſcattered over a compoſition by the hand of taſte, they improve every topic by heightening its beauty, and augmenting its ſtrength.

III. *The Arrangement of the different Parts of a Diſcourſe.*

III. It is neceſſary that all parts of a ſpeech be placed in their proper order, and united in ſuch a manner, as to render the whole clear in itſelf, and eaſy to be underſtood. A regular arrangement of parts is of the greateſt advantage to the ſpeaker, as it aſſiſts his memory, and carries him through his

his diſcourſe, without tautology or confuſion. He ought never to forget that perſpicuity of *order* is as neceſſary as perſpicuity of *language.*

The parts that compoſe a regular ſpeech are divided by the ingenious author of the Lectures on the Belles Lettres into ſix, viz. the *exordium*, or *introduction*; the *ſtatement*, and the diviſion of the ſubject; the *narration*, or explication; the *reaſoning*, or arguments; the *pathetic part*; and the *concluſion*. Theſe diſtinctions are ſufficiently clear and intelligible, to preclude the neceſſity of comment or explanation. Cicero divided an oration into the ſame number of parts, but gave them ſomewhat different names, viz. *exordium, narration, propoſition, confirmation, confutation*, and *concluſion*; and this is the arrangement uſually adopted in the ſyſtems of Rhetoric. The *propoſition* of Cicero correſponds with the *ſtatement* of Blair; and the *pathetic* in the ſcheme of Cicero forms a part of the *concluſion*. It is as improbable, that theſe artificial diſtinctions were ever ſcrupulouſly regarded by a ſpeaker, as that the works on Poetry by Ariſtotle or Horace were ever followed in the compoſition of an Epic Poem; and yet Commentators have not been wanting, who have endeavoured to reduce the moſt impaſſioned ſpeeches in Virgil to the ſame regular diviſions, as the orations of Cicero.

There may be many excellent ſpeeches, where ſeveral of theſe parts are wanting, where the ſpeaker, for inſtance, uſes no exordium, as is the caſe in the firſt

firſt Oration againſt Catiline, but begins abruptly. There may be others, which he finds it unneceſſary to divide into parts, as in ſome orations of Demoſthenes, but enters at once into his ſubject, and is carried on by an uninterrupted flow of argument, till he reaches his concluſion. As however theſe have always been conſidered as the conſtituent parts of a ſpeech, and as in every one ſome of them muſt neceſſarily be found, they properly obtain a place in all ſyſtems of Rhetoric.

This method is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, as not occaſionally to admit of *digreſſion*, *tranſition*, and *amplification*, which give great beauty, if judiciouſly managed, to Poetry and Eloquence. Of digreſſion there are ſtriking examples in Cicero's Oration for the poet Archias; where he leaves the main ſubject of the vindication of his client, to expreſs his commendation of polite literature. The tranſition is abſolutely neceſſary, where a diſcourſe conſiſts of many parts: but it is the rapid and abrupt tranſition, which is moſt to be admired for its effect in rouſing the attention. Of this there are various inſtances in the Orations of Cicero.

Amplification does not merely ſignify a method of enlarging an object, but of repreſenting it in the fulleſt and moſt comprehenſive view, that it may in the moſt lively manner ſtrike the mind, and influence the paſſions. Of this an inſtance is given in the noble encomium on eloquence, which forms the introduction to this chapter. There is another example

ample in the Oration of Cicero for the Manilian Law; when, having firſt lamented the want of good generals at that time among the Romans, he expatiates upon the qualities requiſite to conſtitute a complete commander; and cloſes his deſcription with proving, that all theſe qualities were united in Pompey.

The power of eloquence appears in nothing to ſuch extent and advantage, as in a copiouſneſs of expreſſion, or a proper degree of amplification, ſuited to the nature of the ſubject. A ſhort detail or deſcription is too often attended with obſcurity, from an omiſſion of ſome material circumſtances. But when the images of things are drawn in their juſt proportion, painted in their proper colours, ſet in a clear and full light, and repreſented under different points of view, with all the ſtrength and beauty of eloquence, they captivate the minds of the audience, and, by an irreſiſtible force, move and bend them to the will of the ſpeaker. And this is preciſely the effect intended to be produced by the exertion of that power of eloquence called Ενάργεια, or *evidentia*, ſo much inſiſted upon, and ſo fully deſcribed by Ariſtotle, Cicero, and Quintilian[z]. Here the audience are made ſpectators of the ſcene which the ſpeaker deſcribes: here is no neceſſity to call in the aid of figurative language, but only to repreſent in ſtrong, energetic, and vivid

[z] Quint. lib. vi. c. 2. Ciceronis Acad. iv. 17. Ariſtotelis Rhet. lib. iii. c. 11.

terms,

terms, what has paſſed, and what he wiſhes to impreſs upon the mind. Here every object is viſible, diſtinct, and affecting; every being lives, moves, and acts; and every circumſtance is with a happy ſelection of topics brought forward, that can convince the judgment, or overpower the heart. No writers excel more in this ſpecies of eloquence than Livy and Tacitus.

It is the proper end of oratory for the ſpeaker to expreſs himſelf in ſuch a manner, as completely to accompliſh his purpoſe, whether it be to inſtruct, to pleaſe, or to perſuade; and he who adapts his language, and his ſentiments with the greateſt ability, to theſe ends, is beſt intitled to the prize of eloquence. Hence it is evident, that the eſſence of all that deſerves the name of eloquence is far from conſiſting in vehement action, and wordy declamation; but depends upon good ſenſe, and accurate knowledge, expreſſed in ſpirited language, and recommended by a pleaſing and correct delivery. To be complete maſter of a ſubject is the firſt requiſite; to be well furniſhed with matter and argument will give to a diſcourſe an air of manlineſs and dignity, which is a powerful inſtrument of perſuaſion.

A good writer or ſpeaker to purity and perſpicuity of expreſſion will add *ornament*; upon which depends, if not the uſefulneſs, at leaſt the principal beauty of eloquence. This it is which gives to compoſitio

compoſition magnificence, ſweetneſs, and elegance; which engages attention, captivates the hearts, and excites the applauſes of an audience; which diſtinguiſhes the orator from the philoſopher and the man of buſineſs, which raiſes his language above the ſimplicity of common proſe, tempers the ſeverity of his arguments, improves the keenneſs of his wit, and enlivens the briſk ſallies of his fancy. This it is which, properly ſpeaking, makes rhetoric an *art*; all its other parts may be attained by the mere kindneſs of nature: but without diſcipline, without much ſtudy and experience, the perfection of ornament, ſuch as characterizes the beſt ſpeakers, can never be attained.

He who wiſhes to produce the deſired effect in ſpeaking, muſt be free from all inſincerity. He only can addreſs himſelf *effectually* to the heart, and the feelings of others, whoſe mind glows with the warmth of ſenſibility, and whoſe arguments reſult from conviction. He muſt feel the influence of thoſe paſſions and emotions, which he wiſhes to inſpire[a]. An aſſumed character and an affectation of feeling will not be long concealed under the diſguiſe of diſſimulation. The greateſt orators were diſtinguiſhed by the virtues which they laboured the moſt ſtrenuouſly to inculcate. Demoſthenes and Cicero were eminent for a patriotic ſpirit; and thoſe ſpeeches, into which they have infuſed it, have always attracted moſt admiration from the world.

[a] Quint. lib. vi. c. 2. ſect. 3.

IV. *Propriety of Action and Delivery.*

IV. In the delivery of a ſpeech great judgment is neceſſary; and there is no part of eloquence, which ſtands more in need of inſtructions. The orator muſt be careful to avoid the extremes of awkwardneſs and affectation; he muſt not be inanimate on the one hand, or theatrical on the other. To follow a good practitioner in this part of the art will be of more advantage to him, than all the Rhetoricians either ancient or modern. It is juſtly remarked by Cicero, that every thought and emotion of the ſoul have their appropriate countenance, voice, and geſture; and the whole body, every variation of the face, and tone of the voice, like the ſtrings of a muſical inſtrument, act agreeably to the impulſe they receive from the mind[b]. The correſpondence of emotions with expreſſion and emphaſis muſt be attentively obſerved, and made the guide to practice. The orator muſt feel the force of his own reaſonings, and be alive to the beauties of his own deſcriptions. It is this ſtrength, ſpirit, and fire, which render him a perfect maſter of his art, which excite ſympathy in the breaſts of his hearers, and animate them with his own enthuſiaſm. Was it not the impaſſioned delivery of Demoſthenes, to which his rival Æſchines has left ſuch a remarkable and ſuch an honourable teſtimony, that gave reſiſtleſs perſuaſion to his ſpeeches[c]?

[b] Cicero de Orat. lib. i. c. v.

[c] Cicero de Orat. lib. iii. ſect. 213.

Was

Was it not the indignant countenance, the animated tone, and the judicious action of Cicero, which communicated ſuch commanding influence and powerful weight to his arguments, when he confounded the audacious Catiline? And was it not the dignified air, and the perſuaſive mildneſs of Maſſillon, which added to his religious inſtructions ſo much force, when he drew from the haughty Louis XIV. a confeſſion of the power of ſacred eloquence?

He who aſpires to the reputation of a good public ſpeaker, muſt make judgment the rule of his conduct; for no attainments can ſecure praiſe or advantage without it. Even correctneſs itſelf muſt not be carried to an extreme; the flights of imagination muſt be reſtrained by diſcretion, and propriety muſt give laws to every effort. Thus will he take the ſureſt road to eminence; he will reach the ſublime, without being bombaſtic or extravagant; he will be bold, not raſh; ſerious, but not ſevere; gay, not licentious; and copious without redundance. An adherence to the proper rules of the art will be the ſafeſt guide to genius, will improve every natural endowment, and will add the advantages of experience to the gifts of nature.

The eloquence of the moderns has rarely reached the ſtandard of excellence, which was attained by the ancients. The character of each is widely different. In Greece the public ſpeaker was bold,

impetuous, and ſublime. In Rome he was more declamatory, verboſe, flowery, and pathetic. Fenelon has thus ingeniouſly diſcriminated the powers of the two great orators of Greece and Rome. "After hearing an oration of Tully, 'How finely and eloquently has he expreſſed himſelf!' ſaid the Romans. After Demoſthenes had ſpoke, 'Let us riſe and march againſt Philip,' ſaid the Athenians." In England the public ſpeaker is temperate and cool, and addreſſes himſelf more to the reaſon of his audience, than to their paſſions. There is ſtill great ſcope for the diſplay of genius in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the houſes of Parliament; and the path of fame is ſtill left open to riſing orators. The rules laid down by the ancients, as the principles involved in thoſe rules are of general utility, may be ſtudied to great advantage, although much judgment is neceſſary for their proper application; and attention muſt be paid to modern taſte and modern manners.

Many diſtinguiſhed examples of eloquence may be held up to the obſervation of the young orator; but he muſt avoid too cloſe an imitation, even of the moſt eminent. Let him ſtudy the moſt eſteemed works of his predeceſſors; let him frequently revolve, and even commit to memory, their productions, and repeat them with ſuitable voice and action[4]; and let him rather in his own compoſitions endeavour

[4] I have heard that the Marquis of Wharton formed his ſon, the Duke, to be one of the greateſt, and at the ſame time one of the

endeavour to catch a portion of their ſpirit, than tread ſervilely in their ſteps. Demoſthenes was vehement, abrupt, energetic, and ſublime. Cicero was dignified, luminous, and copious. Chatham united the energy of the one to the elegance of the other[e]. Mansfield was perſuaſive, delightful, and inſtructive. Burke was flowery, vivid, and fluent. Let the orator ſtudy to combine in his compoſitions their united excellence. Let him not, to uſe the appoſite and beautiful illuſtration of Quintilian, reſemble the ſtream, that is carried

the readieſt ſpeakers that ever was in England, by making him get by heart whole Orations of Demoſthenes, and repeat them with all the graces of action and pronunciation. Monboddo, vol. iv. p. 244.

[e] Demoſthenes was his great model in ſpeaking; and we are told that he tranſlated ſome of his Orations by way of exerciſe ſeveral times over.

Many deſcriptions are given of the eloquence of Lord Chatham: but of them all, whether written by Mr. Burke, Wilkes, the author of Junius, Frederic of Pruſſia, the Abbé Raynal, or Lord Cheſterfield, that written by the *laſt* ſtrikes me as the cleareſt, and perhaps the moſt accurate. "His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative, as well as the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with ſuch energy of diction, and ſuch dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated thoſe who were the moſt willing and the leaſt able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they ſhrunk under the aſcendant, which his genius gained over theirs." Life of Chatham, vol. iii. p. 378, &c.

"It is a traditionary tale of his country, that almoſt in infancy the great Lord Mansfield was accuſtomed to declaim upon his native mountains the moſt celebrated ſpeeches of Cicero and Demoſthenes, and his own inimitable Tranſlations." Lives of eminent Lawyers, p. 32.

through a channel formed by art for its courſe; but rather let him imitate the bold river, which overflows a whole valley; and where it does not find, can force a paſſage by its own natural impetuoſity and ſtrength.

CLASS THE THIRD.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The Study of Hiſtory in general.

CURIOSITY is one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt active principles of human nature. Throughout the ſucceſſive ſtages of life, it ſeeks with avidity for thoſe gratifications, which are congenial with the different faculties of the mind. The child, as ſoon as the imagination begins to open, eagerly liſtens to the tales of his nurſe: the youth, at a time of life, when the love of what is new and uncommon is quickened by ſenſibility, is enchanted by the magic of Romances and Novels: the man, whoſe mature judgment inclines him to the purſuit of truth, applies to genuine Hiſtory, which even in old age continues to be a favourite object of his attention; ſince his deſire to be acquainted with the tranſactions of others has nearly an equal power over his mind, with the propenſity to relate what has happened to himſelf.

The love of fame, and a deſire to communicate information, have influenced the ingenious and the ambitious, in almoſt every age and in every nation, to leave behind them ſome memorials of their exiſtence, actions, and diſcoveries. Thus has the curioſity of mankind ſecured, by methods at firſt very rude and incomplete, and in ſucceeding times by records more improved and ſatisfactory, its favourite enjoyments.

The method of conveying accounts of remarkable tranſactions in the earlieſt ages of the world, by means of oral tradition, was very imperfect and uncertain. Songs were the only memorials of antiquity among the Germans; and their war-ſong, when ruſhing to battle, was always a memorial of ſome ancient hero. Poets who ſung the praiſes of deceaſed warriors at the tables of kings, are often mentioned by Homer: the Scandinavians had their ſcalds, the Gauls and Germans their bards, and the ſavages of America preſerved ſimilar records of the paſt in the wild poetry of their country. To ſupply the great defects of ſuch oral tradition, and to perpetuate their remembrance, founders of ſtates, and leaders of colonies, gave their own names to cities and kingdoms. Pillars of ſtone were raiſed, devices were fixed upon ſhields and banners, and national feſtivals and cuſtoms were eſtabliſhed to commemorate extraordinary events. From ſuch imperfect attempts to reſcue the paſt from the ravages of time and oblivion, the progreſs to written hiſtory was made ſoon after the invention of letters. The

names

names of magiſtrates, and the recital of the moſt remarkable events, which happened during their tranſaction of public buſineſs, were accurately recorded, as we learn from the Chronicles of the kings of Iſrael, and the regiſters of the Conſuls preſerved upon the Capitoline marbles at Rome. Such was the commencement of annals, and of a regular ſeries of chronology. In ſucceeding times, when nations became more civilized, and the various branches of literature were cultivated, private perſons employed themſelves in recording the actions of their contemporaries, or their anceſtors, and hiſtory by degrees aſſumed its proper form and character. It was at firſt like painting the rude outline of an unſkilful deſigner; but after repeated eſſays, the great maſters of the art aroſe, and produced the harmonious light and ſhade, the glowing colours, and animated groups of a perfect picture.

With a particular view to the works of eminent hiſtorians, both ancient and modern, it may be uſeful to conſider,

I. The *Nature* of Hiſtory, and the aſſiſtance which it derives from other ſtudies.

II. The *Advantages* of a knowledge of Hiſtory.

III. The comparative merits of *ancient* and *modern* Hiſtorians.

IV. The *Qualifications requiſite to form an accompliſhed* Hiſtorian, in order to eſtabliſh a ſtandard, by which to meaſure the merits of Hiſtorians in general.

I. Hiſtory,

I. Hiſtory, in the general ſenſe of the word, ſignifies *a true relation of facts and events*; or, conſidered in a moral point of view, it is that lively philoſophy, which, laying aſide the formality of rules, ſupplies the place of experience, and teaches us to act with propriety and honour according to the examples of others. The province of hiſtory is ſo extenſive, that it is connected with every branch of knowledge; and ſo various and abundant are its ſtores, that all arts, ſciences, and profeſſions are indebted to it for many of the materials and principles, upon which they depend. It opens the wideſt proſpect to the eyes of mankind in the ſpacious fields of literature, and is one of the moſt pleaſing and important objects of ſtudy, to which the mind can be directed.

To draw the line of proper diſtinction between authentic and fabulous hiſtory, is the firſt object of the diſcerning reader. Let him not burthen his memory with events that ought perhaps to paſs for fables; let him not fatigue his attention with the progreſs of empires, or the ſucceſſion of kings, which are thrown back into the remoteſt ages. He will find that little dependence is to be placed upon the relations of thoſe affairs in the Pagan world, which preceded the invention of letters, and were built upon mere oral tradition. Let him leave the dynaſties of the Egyptian kings, the expeditions of Seſoſtris, Bacchus, and Jaſon, and the exploits of Hercules and Theſeus, for poets to embelliſh, or chronologiſts to arrange. The fabulous accounts

accounts of theſe heroes of antiquity may remind him of the ſandy deſarts, lofty mountains, and frozen oceans, which are laid down in the maps of the ancient geographers, to conceal their ignorance of remote countries. Let him haſten to firm ground, where he may ſafely ſtand, and behold the ſtriking events, and memorable actions, which the light of authentic records diſplays to his view. They alone are amply ſufficient to enrich his memory, and to point out to him well-atteſted examples of all that is magnanimous, as well as all that is vile;—of all that debaſes, and all that ennobles mankind.

Hiſtory, conſidered with reſpect to the nature of its ſubjects, may be divided into *general* and *particular*; and with reſpect to time, into *ancient* and *modern*. Ancient hiſtory commences with the creation, and extends to the reign of Charlemagne, in the year of our Lord 800. Modern hiſtory beginning with that period reaches down to the preſent times. General hiſtory relates to nations and public affairs, and may be ſubdivided into *ſacred*, *eccleſiaſtical*, and *profane*. Biography, memoirs, and letters, conſtitute particular hiſtory. *Statiſtics* refer to the preſent condition of nations. *Geography* and *Chronology* are important aids, and give order, regularity, and clearneſs to them all.

For information upon the ſubject of ſacred hiſtory, the ſtudent muſt reſort to the holy Bible, to Joſephus, and to the Annals of Archbiſhop Uſher.

The affairs of the Chriſtian Church, comprehending the lives, characters, and conduct of thoſe who have maintained a pure and apoſtolical faith, as well as of ſuch ſectariſts as have deviated from it, are compriſed in *Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.* It deſcribes the nature of religious eſtabliſhments, and diſplays the various opinions of Chriſtians upon the moſt important of all ſubjects. Here we trace the progreſs of Chriſtianity from obſcurity and oppreſſion, to pomp and dominion; and, after a long ſeries of ſuperſtition and error, we ſee it reſume its primitive character in the Reformation of the ſixteenth century. This important ſubject has exerciſed the diligence and diſplayed the learning of many eminent writers of various ages: but the reader of general hiſtory may find ſufficient gratification for his curioſity in the works of Euſebius, and Moſheim.

From the people of the ancient world we firſt ſelect the *Jews*, as the particular objects of our attention. They were favoured with the knowlege of the one true God. Their hiſtory carries us back to the moſt remote antiquity; and its importance is increaſed in the greateſt degree by its connexion with the Chriſtian Revelation.

The next branch of general hiſtory is that of *Antient Greece.* It preſents a nation of heroes, philoſophers, poets, orators, hiſtorians, and artiſts, who ſpoke the nobleſt language which ever graced the tongue of man, and who have been the guides and

and the inſtructors of all ſucceeding nations in arts, ſciences, and philoſophy. Greece was the ſource of light, that has irradiated a great portion of the globe.

The *Romans* in the order of excellence, as well as of time, followed the Grecians: their military talents were diſplayed in a long ſucceſſion of conqueſts and triumphs in every part of the ancient world. The monuments of their genius, which the ravages of time have ſpared, render them next to the Greeks the boaſt of hiſtory, and the glory of mankind.

The *Hiſtory of England* has the ſtrongeſt claims to our attention. It abounds with ſuch events and tranſactions, and diſplays ſuch characters and actions, as it is our duty and our intereſt to ſtudy; and we are attracted to a peruſal of its eventful records by the ties of patriotiſm, and a congeniality of manners.

From *Modern hiſtory* in general we ſelect thoſe parts, which relate to the moſt important tranſactions and events, particularly adverting to thoſe diſcoveries and inſtitutions, which diſtinguiſh it from ancient times, and have contributed eſſentially to the preſent ſtate of opinions and manners.

There are certain foreign nations, which, by the extent of their dominions, their civil polity, or their

their connexion with our own country, may excite our curioſity to learn their former ſtate: but it will not anſwer any important purpoſe to dwell, for inſtance, upon the affairs of France under the Merovingian, or Carlovinian, families; or upon the ſtate of Germany before the reign of Charles V. Let not the ſcholar waſte too much time, which may be more profitably employed in other ſtudies, in poring over the works of Thuanus, Mariana, and Froiſſart; or the numerous volumes of the Univeral Hiſtory.

With reſpect indeed to foreign nations, the objects of his moſt uſeful attention are the actual power, the nature of their preſent governments, the ſtate of civilization, ſciences, and arts, their natural and artificial advantages, their population, produce, commerce, and relative importance in the ſcale of political greatneſs. This conſtitutes a branch of ſtudy, which has been of late years much cultivated by the Germans, and is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Statiſtics*. Travellers and ſtateſmen muſt not claim this ſtudy as their own excluſive province, ſince it will be found extremely uſeful to every Engliſh gentleman, and will qualify him to form a juſt eſtimate of the relative condition, power, and importance of his own country.

Biography is a branch of hiſtory, which in point of importance and moral utility ranks as high as any. The biographer by his accurate reſearches ſupplies

ſupplies the deficiences of the hiſtorian. What the latter gives us only in outlines and ſketches, the former preſents in more complete and highly finiſhed portraits. Their province does not merely extend to thoſe who have acted upon the great theatre of the world, as ſovereigns, ſtateſmen, and warriors; but to all who have improved human life by their uſeful diſcoveries, adorned it by their works of genius, and edified mankind by their examples. With what pleaſure do we ſelect a Bacon, a Boyle, a Newton, an Addiſon, a Locke, a Radcliffe, a Howard, and a Hanway, from the multitudes that ſurround them, and become acquainted with their particular characters and conduct! To contemplate ſuch men, not inflamed by vain ambition, or courting empty popularity, but ſeeking retirement, and giving dignity to the walks of private life by the efforts of genius, and the exertions of philanthropy, is a high gratification to the mind, and inſpires it with an admiration and a love of thoſe virtues, which come within the reach of general imitation.

"To find that great lengths have actually been gone in learning and virtue, that high degrees of perfection have actually been attained by men like ourſelves, intangled among the infirmities, the temptations, the oppoſition from wicked men, and the other various evils of life; how does this ſhow us to ourſelves as utterly inexcuſable, if we do not endeavour to reach the heights we know have been gained by others of our fellow-creatures? Biography

graphy ſets before us the whole character of a perſon, who has made himſelf eminent either by his virtues or his vices; ſhews us how he came firſt to take a right or a wrong turn, the proſpects which invited him to aſpire to higher degrees of glory, or the deluſions which miſled him from his virtue and his peace; the circumſtances which raiſed him to true greatneſs, or the rocks on which he ſplit, and ſunk to infamy. And how can we more effectually, or in a more entertaining manner, learn the important leſſon, what we ought to purſue, and what to avoid[1].

No ſpecies of writing gives a more perfect inſight into the minds of men, than their *Letters*. In the letters of perſons of diſtinction, we expect the juſtneſs of obſervation, which belongs to hiſtory, and the eaſe and good humour of elegant converſation. They place us in the ſituation of correſpondents, and we ſeem honoured by the confidence of the great and good, the witty and the gay of various ages and countries. We obſerve them as they thought in their retired moments, when, withdrawn from the buſtle of the world, they gave free ſcope to their unreſtrained opinions, and poured them without reſerve into the boſoms

[1] Baugh's Dignity of Human Nature, p. 167. Warton's Preface to the Life of Sir T. Pope. Blair's Lectures, v. iii. p. 55, &c. "It is a thing to be wiſhed, that every one would ſtudy the life of ſome great man diſtinguiſhed by employs, to which himſelf may be deſtined by Providence." Du Freſnoy, tom. i. p. 43.

of

of their friends. We may remark the immediate effects produced by good or bad fortune, and may catch the ſpirit of their virtues immediately from themſelves. Here wit, humour, and genius, have indulged their natural ſallies, and adorned the common occurrences of life in the moſt pleaſing dreſs. Among the numerous inſtances, which might be ſelected of epiſtolary excellence, we diſtinguiſh the letters of Cicero, which diſplay the ſentiments of a vigorous mind, and give an inſight into the eminent characters of his eventful times. Pliny, in Epiſtles remarkable for neatneſs and preciſion of thought, expreſſes the dictates of a cultivated and generous mind. If we turn our attention to the epiſtolary literature of our own country, we ſhall find that the piety and the affection of Lady Ruſſel, the quaintneſs and pleaſantry of Howel, the manlineſs and political ſagacity of Strafford, the philoſophical exactneſs and cool judgment of Locke, the ſimplicity of Rundle, the moraliſing vein of Johnſon, and the taſte and elegance of Gray, mark their reſpective letters with the ſtrongeſt characters of originality, and gives us the moſt pleaſing pictures of their minds. We naturally wiſh to know all we can of ſuch perſons, and feel an increaſing intereſt in their other productions; for we prize thoſe writers the moſt, who combine the charms of entertainment and pleaſure with the leſſons of inſtruction.

Hiſtory derives conſiderable aid from collateral ſtudies, which contribute to render its proſpects accurate, diſtinct, and extenſive. The ſciences of *Geography* and *Chronology* are abſolutely neceſſary to give it preciſion and perſpicuity.

Geography gives us a deſcription of the terraqueous Globe. The land is divided into Continent, Iſlands, Peninſulas, Iſthmuſes, Capes or Promontories. The Water is diſtinguiſhed by Oceans, Seas, Gulphs, Lakes and Rivers. It teaches us likewiſe the artificial diviſion of the Globe. The two points on which the Earth is ſuppoſed to perform her daily motion are the *Poles*: equally diſtant from them both, is the *Equator*, which divides the globe into two equal parts, and on which are meaſured the degrees of *longitude*. The *Ecliptic* is the circle drawn acroſs the Equator which deſcribes the annual Courſe of the Sun. The lines which interſect the Equator at right angles, and meet in the Poles, are called the Meridians, and on them is meaſured the *latitude* of places. Theſe are the great Circles of the Globe, which like all other circles contain 360 degrees, and each degree 60 minutes. A degree on a great circle of the earth is ſomething more than 68 engliſh miles. The Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, are two imaginary Circles each drawn at the diſtance of 23½ degrees from the Equator, the former to the north, the latter to the ſouth. When the Sun approaches one of theſe boundaries of the Ecliptic he ſeems to make a ſtand for a few days, and then gradually recedes towards the other;

5 hence

hence they are called the Summer and the Winter Solſtices. The Polar or Arctic and Antarctic Circles are drawn at the diſtance of 23½ degrees from either Pole. Within theſe Circles the Sun appears above the horizon, from the ſpace of ſix months to that of twenty-four hours.

In the ſurvey of the four quarters of the World, viz. Europe, Aſia, Africa and America, we remark the comparative dimenſions and the boundaries of each Kingdom and State, the governments, forms of religion, ſoils, productions, manners and cuſtoms by which the Families of the Earth are diſtinguiſhed.

EUROPE, although the ſmalleſt of theſe diviſions in extent of Country, is by far the moſt eminent with reſpect to Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Arms, and Commerce.

ASIA is remarkable for the number of Inhabitants, fertility of ſoil, and variety of Climate. There are found the diamonds of Golconda, and the ſpices of Malabar. There the moſt ancient Empires were founded, the Will of God was revealed to Man, and Mahomet ſpread his Impoſture. *China* is remarkable for its patriarchal ſtate of ſociety, its language conſiſting of hieroglyphical characters, and abounding in monoſyllables, its wide extent of empire, and the myriads of its ingenious and crafty Inhabitants. *Hindooſtan*, or the Empire of the Great Mogul, is beſt known to us by the flouriſhing Britiſh Colonies planted upon

the Coromandel and Malabar Coaſts, and exhibiting the curious proſpect of extenſive, populous, and rich Provinces, ſituated at the diſtance of nearly half the globe from the mother Country, and governed by a ſmall Company of Merchants in London.

The vaſt Peninſula of AFRICA united to the Continent of Aſia by the iſthmus of Suez, rich in gold, ivory, gums, and drugs, is, for the moſt part, barbarous and uncultivated. Yet on ſurveying theſe ſultry and inhoſpitable regions, the mind feels ſome ſatisfaction to remark the Britiſh Settlements of Sierra Leone, and Bulama, eſtabliſhed for raiſing the productions of the Weſt Indies, without the aid of miſerable Slaves, and a commerce in human fleſh. Egypt, from whence of old beamed the light of Science and Civilization, is renowned for its ſtupendous pyramids, the moſt ancient monuments of human labour extant, the periodical inundations of the Nile, and the degraded condition of the natives foretold in the holy Scriptures, exactly correſponding with the obſervations of Travellers. In the interior Provinces of Zamfara, and Makako, and upon the remote banks of the Niger, the people are immerſed in the groſſeſt ignorance and idolatry. At the extreme point of the Continent—the Cape of Good Hope, the tribes of the Caffres with an invincible ferocity, like the lions of their forcſts, oppoſe the reſtraints of civilization, and reſolutely perſiſt in their ſavage mode of life.

AMERICA,

AMERICA, or the New World, was diſcovered by the great Chriſtopher Columbus, in 1491, but derives its name from Americus Veſputius, who aſcertained the land to the ſouth of the line a few years after. Its north eaſt diviſion, bounded by the great River Miſſiſippi, includes the coaſts peopled by the Coloniſts from Great Britain. The Southweſt part includes the fertile provinces of Mexico and Louiſiana, the former belongs to Spain, the latter is ceded by that power to the French, who originally planted a colony there. In South America, Peru, Chili and Paraguay are likewiſe ſubject to that Kingdom. The Braſils, rich in ebony, emeralds, and birds of the moſt beautiful plumage, belong to the Portugeſe, and Surinam, planted with the ſugar cane, cotton, and indigo, which form the moſt delightful proſpects upon the banks of creeks and rivulets, belong to the Dutch. The Patagonians, famed for gigantic ſtature and mildneſs of temper, inhabit the moſt ſouthern extremity, near the ſtraits of Magellan.

In America the works of Creation are formed upon the largeſt ſcale. There the Rivers of St. Laurence, Oroonoko, and Plata

——— to whoſe dread expanſe,
Continuous depth, and wondrous length of courſe
Our floods are rills ———

roll their mighty waters to the Ocean; and there the towering Andes, extending 5000 miles in North and South America, rear their ſummits, white with perpetual ſnow even in the torrid zone.

Such is a ſuperficial view of the Globe we inhabit, ſo large in ſize, that even Teneriffe or Mont Blanc are, compared to it, but as grains of duſt, upon an artificial ſphere. Its diameter is 7970 miles, and its ſurface contains 199,557,259 ſquare miles. Placed between Orbits of Venus and Mars, it performs its courſe around the Sun at the rate of 68243 miles in an hour, and completes its annual revolution in rather more than 365 days.

From the ſandy deſarts of Arabia and Egypt, or the ever flouriſhing ſavannahs at the Equator, where grow the moſt luxurious fruits, and the waters and the fields teem with life;—from ſuch glowing climes to the frozen regions of the arctic circle, where vegetation is extinct, and the waters are bound by eternal froſt, Men as well as the inferior animals, are powerfully affected by peculiarity of ſituation. So great is the influence of *Climate*; but if we conſider how ſlow and gradual the variations are from the black complexion of the Negroe of Senegal, to the brown of the Otaheitan, and from him to the fair Natives of the North of Europe, we ſhall find reaſons to confirm the account recorded in the Hiſtory of Moſes, that the various tribes of Men ſprung originally from one family, as well as converſed originally in one language[s].

[s] See the Chapter on language in general.

Without

Without a knowledge of Geography, no reader can have a clear idea of the ſcene, where any occurrence takes place; but is liable to the groſſeſt miſtakes by confounding one part of the world with another. It is equally applicable to modern as to ancient hiſtory, and introduces the pleaſing combination of the old and preſent names of different places, and the characters and manners of the different inhabitants. It aſſiſts the memory by the various aſſociations of ideas, with which it furniſhes the mind; and the proſpect of a country preſented by a map, or a globe, recals the memorable tranſactions, which have been performed in it, and revives the recollection of its illuſtrious men.

Perſons in various ſituations of life are intereſted in the ſtudy of geography, and may reap advantage from its cultivation. While it conſtitutes a branch of knowledge eſſentially neceſſary for the traveller, the merchant, and the ſailor, it furniſhes abundant ſtores of inveſtigation to the naturaliſt and the philoſopher. It is not only requiſite for every reader of hiſtory, but for every one who peruſes the daily accounts of the events, which are taking place in various parts of the world. It has long been conſidered as a material part of a polite education; at preſent indeed it is more particularly proper that it ſhould be ſo, as the Britiſh commerce and colonies extend our connexions to ſo many different countries; and as ſo many voyages of diſcovery have of late years been made. Theſe circumſtances muſt naturally excite

our curioſity, and operate as a ſtrong inducement to the cultivation of this very intereſting branch of Study.

Without Chronology, which *regulates the ſeveral periods of time, and teaches its artificial diviſions*, we have no ſtandard by which the riſe and fall of empires, the length of lives, the dates of remarkable occurrences, or the lapſe of time can be meaſured. We are unable without this aſſiſtance, to underſtand the modes of reckoning among different nations, ſuch as the *Olympiads* of the Greeks, the *foundation of Rome*, the *Hegira* of the Turks, and the *Julian* and *Gregorian* Calendars. The firſt year of the firſt Olympiad coincides with the 776 year before Chriſt, and the year of the foundation of Rome with 753 before Chriſt. The Hegira, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca, happened in the 622 year of the Chriſtian Era. The Julian, or old ſtile, is ſo called from Julius Cæſar, who regulated the Roman Calendar. He added a day immediately after the twenty-fourth of February, called by the Romans the ſixth of the calends of March; as it was thus reckoned *twice*, the year in which it was introduced was called *Biſſextile*, or Leap Year. Pope Gregory in 1582, reformed the Julian Computation, as he found that the odd hours and minutes which complete the year, in the ſpace of a century, make up nearly a whole day, and from not being reckoned, the equinoxes and ſolſtices had gone back ten intire days. To remedy this irregularity, he cauſed ten days to be ſuppreſſed,

ſuppreſſed, and the eleventh of March to be called the twenty-firſt. Thus the Equinox fell on the ſame day of the month as when the Council of Nice was held, in the year 325, at the vernal Equinox. The Old Style was uſed till September 1752, when the New was adopted in all the Chriſtian countries of Europe.

Geography and Chronology are with the greateſt propriety called the *eyes* of hiſtory: becauſe this metaphor expreſſes better than any other how effectually they aſſiſt us as the proper inſtruments to diſcern the various actions and revolutions of mankind.

There are other aſſiſtances, by which the ſtudy of hiſtory may be conſiderably promoted, and the events which it records may be very pleaſingly illuſtrated. Coins and medals[h], inſcriptions[i], gems, and ſtatues, not only ſhew us the progreſs of ancient arts, but likewiſe aſcertain many curious particulars reſpecting characters, inſtruments, buildings, and ceremonies. Coins and medals indeed are particularly ſerviceable in that reſpect. The repreſentation of ſo many events is delineated upon them, that they illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages in ancient writers, and confirm doubtful facts. Sometimes they are not only the aſſiſtants but the ſub-

[h] Du Freſnoy, vol. i. p. 241.

[i] The comparative Uſe of Medals and Inſcriptions by the learned Scipio Maffei may be found in Du Freſnoy's new Method of ſtudying Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 323.

ſtitutes

ſtitutes of hiſtory. Gibbon remarks that if all the hiſtorians of that period were loſt, medals, inſcriptions, and other monuments, would be ſufficient to record the travels of the emperor Hadrian. Coins are to general hiſtory, what miniatures are to hiſtorical pictures; when arranged in exact order, they anſwer the purpoſe of a chronological epitome, and convey ſimilar information, with the additional advantage of a more lively and pictureſque manner of communicating it.

But the *Laws* of a country are more intimately connected with its hiſtory, and indeed, more accurately ſpeaking, conſtitute an eſſential part of it. They ſhow the genius of a people, illuſtrate their manners, and enable us to trace their progreſs from rude independence to due ſubordination and proper government. The hiſtorians of antiquity, indeed, taking it for granted that the laws of their reſpective countries would be as well known to others as to themſelves, have not paid ſufficient attention to this ſubject. From the turbulent ſcenes of public affairs, from battles and the conflicts of contending factions, we can derive little knowledge of the internal ſtate of manners and cuſtoms. An acquaintance with juriſprudence is calculated to ſupply this information; and even from the ancient laws, extremely conciſe as they are, we may infer with a great degree of probability, what the ſtate of the country was, in any particular reſpect, when a new law was enacted. The remedy recommended clearly points out the nature

nature of the diſeaſe. For inſtance, the encroachments of luxury in Rome may be marked by the Oppian law, which prohibited the Roman ladies from wearing ornaments to their dreſs, which exceeded the value of an ounce of gold; and by a decree of the Senate obtained by Cornelius, which limited to a particular ſum the expence of funerals.

I. *The Advantages of a Knowledge of Hiſtory.*

II. If we conſider the knowledge of hiſtory with regard to its application, we ſhall find that it is eminently uſeful to us in three reſpects, viz. as it appears in a *moral*, a *political*, and a *religious* point of view.

In a moral point of view, it is beneficial to mankind at large, as the guide of their conduct. In a political—as it ſuggeſts uſeful expedients to thoſe who exerciſe the public offices of the ſtate, whether they are kings, miniſters, or magiſtrates; or as it enables us to form, by compariſon with thoſe who have gone before them, a juſt eſtimate of their merits. In a religious—as it teaches us to regard the Supreme Being as the governor of the univerſe, and the ſovereign diſpoſer of all events.

The faculties of the ſoul are improved by exerciſe; and nothing is more proper to enlarge, to quicken, and to refine them, than a ſurvey of the

conduct

conduct of mankind. Hiſtory ſupplies us with a detail of facts, and ſubmits them to our examination before we are called into active life. By obſervation and reflection upon others we begin an early acquaintance with human nature, extend our views of the moral world, and are enabled to acquire ſuch a habit of diſcernment, and correctneſs of judgment, as others obtain only by experience. We thus by anticipation are converſant with the buſy ſcenes of the world; by revolving the lives of ſages and heroes, we exerciſe our virtues in a review, and prepare them for approaching action. We learn the motives, the opinions, and the paſſions of the men who have lived before us; and the fruit of that ſtudy is a more perfect knowledge of ourſelves, and a correction of our failings by their examples. At the ſame time we form thoſe general principles of conduct, which muſt neceſſarily be true and commendable, becauſe they are founded upon the immutable decrees of right reaſon, and are ſanctioned by the uniform authority and practice of the wiſe and good of all ages.

Our own experience is imperfect, but the examples of ancient times are complete. Actual obſervation gives only a partial knowledge of mankind; great events and important tranſactions open very ſlowly upon us; and the ſhortneſs of human life enables us only to ſee detached parts of them. We are not placed at a proper diſtance to judge rightly of their real nature and magnitude.

Heated

Heated by our paſſions, hurried on by precipitation, and miſled by intereſt and prejudice, we view the affairs of the preſent times through an obſcure and a partial medium, and frequently form very wrong opinions of them. On the contrary, the examples of hiſtory are diſtinct and clear, they are preſented to us at full length, and we can contemplate them in their origin, progreſs, and termination. We conſider them at our leiſure, and decide upon the actions of thoſe, who are removed by time to a great diſtance from us, with a cool and diſpaſſionate judgment.

Experience and the knowledge of hiſtory reflect mutual light, and afford mutual aſſiſtance. Without the former, no one can act with addreſs and dexterity. Without the latter, no one can add to the natural reſources of his own mind a knowledge of thoſe precepts and examples, which have tended to form the character and promote the glory of eminent men. Scipio Africanus employed many of his leiſure hours in a diligent peruſal of the works of Xenophon; and the Commentaries of Cæſar improved the military talents of the illuſtrious Eugene [k].

Hiſtory

[k] And verilie they bee feweſt in number, that bee happie or wiſe by unlearned experience. And looke well upon the former life of thoſe fewe, whether your example be old or young, who without learning have gathered, by long experience, a little wiſdome and ſome happineſs; and when you doe conſider what miſchiefe they have committed, what daungers they have eſcaped and

Hiſtory contributes to diveſt us of many unreaſonable prejudices, by enlarging our acquaintance with the world. It ſets us at liberty from that blind partiality to our native country, which is the ſure mark of a contracted mind, when due merit is not allowed to any other. It may be ſerviceable either as the aſſiſtant of Foreign Travel, or as its ſubſtitute, by removing an averſion to nations and inſtitutions different from our own. It rectifies our opinions with reſpect to ancient and modern times, and thus enables to form a juſt eſtimate of mankind in all countries as well as in all ages.

This ſtudy likewiſe tends to ſtrengthen our abhorrence of vice; and creates a reliſh for true greatneſs and ſolid glory. We ſee the hero and the philoſopher repreſented in their proper colours; and as magnanimity, honour, integrity, and generoſity, when diſplayed in illuſtrious inſtances, naturally make a favourable impreſſion on our minds, our attachment to them is gradually formed. The fire of enthuſiaſm and of virtuous emulation is lighted, and we long to practiſe what we have been inſtructed to approve.

Hiſtory likewiſe is the foundation, upon which is built the true ſcience of government. It is the

(and twentie for one doe periſh in the adventure) then think well with yourſelfe, whether ye would, that your own ſonne ſhould cum to wiſdome and happineſs by the way of *ſuch experience* or no." ASCHAM's Schoolmaſter.

proper

proper ſchool for princes, politicians, and legiſlators. They need not have recourſe for inſtruction to the Republic of Plato, the Utopia of More, or the Oceana of Harrington. In their deliberations upon ſtate affairs they can form no ſafer plans for the guidance of their conduct, than from the contemplation of facts. In the records of various ſtates they may obſerve by what means national happineſs has been ſucceſsfully purſued, and public liberty has been firmly eſtabliſhed: in what manner laws have anſwered the ends of their inſtitution in the reformation of manners, and the promotion of the general good; and thence they may draw ſuch concluſions as may be moſt advantageous in the regulation of the affairs of their own country [1].

In the volumes of hiſtory likewiſe we ſee the moſt deceitful and crafty men ſtripped of the diſguiſe of artifice and diſſimulation, their deſigns developed, and their ſtratagems expoſed. By the fall of the great and powerful into a ſtate of diſgrace and indigence, as well as by the revolutions of empires, we are not ſo liable to be aſtoniſhed at the events, which paſs before our own eyes. The reverſes of fortune ſo frequently recorded in the pages of former times convince us

[1] Hoc illud eſt præcique in cognitione rerum ſalubre et frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ quod imitere, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu quod vites. Liv.

of

of the mutability of worldly affairs, and the precariouſneſs of all human grandeur.

The portraits, buſts, and ſtatues of the hero, the legiſlator, the patriot, and the philoſopher, form a moſt edifying ſchool for the ingenious mind. The Roman youth, accuſtomed to view the images of their illuſtrious anceſtors decorated with the emblems of the higheſt offices of the ſtate, and crowned with the wreaths of victory, were fired with the love of glory, and ſtrove to emulate their exploits[m]. Hiſtory in a ſimilar manner, by tranſmitting the ſpirit of excellence from one mind to another, excites a deſire for whatever is fair and good, and engages even the paſſions on the ſide of the judgment. It fixes the ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting impreſſions upon the mind, ſanctions the arguments of reaſon, and gives life to the leſſons of morality.

How tame and ſpiritleſs are the precepts of wiſdom, even when taught by a Socrates or a Plato, if compared with the more animated beauties of virtue, exemplified in the actions of an Ariſtides, or a Phocion! To the former we only

[m] Sæpe audivi Q. Maximum & P. Scipionem civitatis noſtræ præclaros viros ſolitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementiſſimè ſibi animum ad virtutem accendi; ſcilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in ſeſe habere; ſed memoria rerum geſtarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore creſcere, neque prius ſedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

give

give the cold aſſent of the judgment; of the latter we expreſs our admiration with rapture; they call forth our encomiums, they excite the ſpirit of emulation, and we are eager to ſhew by our conduct the great influence which they have gained over our hearts.

But what is this homage, which is paid almoſt involuntarily to ſuch great and illuſtrious examples? It is undoubtedly the voice of nature, and the ſuggeſtion of reaſon pure and uncorrupted by the bad practices of the world. It is the deciſion of a correct judgment, and the proof of a genuine taſte for true greatneſs and ſolid glory. In order therefore to form a virtuous character, and to be diſtinguiſhed for the moſt laudable actions, it is an object of the firſt concern to be ever attentive to this voice, and to conform to its wiſe and friendly admonitions.

While hiſtory holds up to the view inſtances of eminent virtues and ſplendid actions, ſhe calls not the ſtudent to a *ſervile* imitation of her examples; for thus might he unintentionally be led to error and miſconduct. No two men were ever preciſely the ſame in moral or intellectual qualities, or in ſituations exactly ſimilar; and therefore no one can with ſafety conclude, that the ſame conduct could in all reſpects be prudent for him, which his predeceſſor has followed. Expedients ſpringing from our own minds are formed with more clearneſs, and executed with more ſpirit, than thoſe

which are derived from the imitation of others. While the imitator is revolving the precedents of paſt times, and minutely examining them with reference to his own caſe, he may ſuffer the favourable opportunity for action to eſcape him, and may be undone for ever;—or, ſuppoſing he takes any particular example for his guide, from a want of accurate diſcrimination, he may be betrayed into ſome fatal error. The acute and the diſcerning will not fail to combine originality of plan with the guidance of precedent; they will make every proper allowance for the various diſpoſitions and manners of the times; they will inſtantly perceive where circumſtances *differ* or *agree*; and will adopt only ſo much of the example, as is exactly proportioned to the exigency of their own affairs.

Hiſtory riſes to the higheſt degree of importance, and attains the full dignity of its character, by fixing our attention upon the conduct of divine Providence in the moral government of the world. It is clear to every one, who takes the moſt ſuperficial view of the paſt, that great events have often been effected by trifling means; that the conſequences of actions have been much more extenſive, more fatal or calamitous, than were originally deſigned by the agents themſelves; that the deſigns of Providence have been brought about by the caprice of human tempers, or the violence of human paſſions; and that force, craft, and cruelty have always met with their juſt, though ſometimes

delayed puniſhment. The reſult of actions has been widely different from the end propoſed by thoſe who planned them; and great revolutions have been effected contrary to the intention of the perſons, who were the chief inſtruments of them. Such extraordinary diſcoveries draw us much nearer, and give us a much better inſight into the operations of the Deity, than thoſe occurrences, in which the cauſes are more equal to the effects; as is the caſe with the common affairs of life. Thus hiſtory becomes the handmaid of religion, and opens to us the moſt wonderful proſpects of the divine interpoſition in the government of the world [a].

[a] I ſubjoin the following remarkable inſtance from Robertſon's Charles VIth, Book 10, C. 5. "It is a ſingular circumſtance, that the Reformation ſhould be indebted for its full eſtabliſhment in Germany, to the ſame hand which had formerly brought it to the brink of deſtruction, and that both events ſhould be accompliſhed by the ſame arts of diſſimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, had in view at theſe different junctures, ſeem to have been more attended to, than the means by which he attained them. It is no leſs worthy of obſervation, that the French King, a Monarch zealous for the Catholic Faith, ſhould, at the very ſame time when he was perſecuting his own proteſtant ſubjects with all the fierceneſs of bigotry, employ his power in order to maintain and protect the Reformation in the Empire; and that the league for this purpoſe, which proved ſo fatal to the Romiſh Church, ſhould be negociated and ſigned by a Roman Catholic Biſhop. *So wonderfully doth the wiſdom of God ſuperintend and regulate the caprice of human paſſions, and render them ſubſervient towards the accompliſhment of his own purpoſes.*" In the preface to Sir W. Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World, many ſimilar examples are taken from the early part of the Hiſtory of England.

Exclusive of the general uses of history, there is a particular application of it, which every one naturally makes to his own pursuits, his own age, and his own habits of thinking. The politician searches the records of past ages for the rise and fall of states, the measures which advanced their greatness, and the causes which precipitated them into ruin. The soldier looks for military achievements, the conduct of generals, and the discipline of armies. Cause and effect engage the attention of the philosopher; and the man of science is interested by the description of the phenomena of nature. The antiquarian studies the ancient laws, customs, and dresses, and other peculiarities of nations. The man who is advanced in years, is gratified with remarking in the same book those sentiments and actions, which he disregarded in his youth; and the habits of thinking, which he has formed at one particular period of life, induce him to search for different sources of entertainment and instruction at another. Thus every person is influenced by his peculiar taste: when he consults the volumes of history, he discovers something in them to suit the complexion of his own mind; and, from a natural partiality to his own pursuits, may be inclined to think, that the historian wrote only for his use and entertainment.

Readers, however, of every of age and description, may find in history ample materials for improving their judgment, by tracing the due connexion which subsists

ſubſiſts between cauſes and effects. They ought not to be ſatisfied with the recital of events alone, but endeavour to inveſtigate the circumſtances which combined either to produce, to haſten, or to retard them; as well as the manner of their operation, and the degree of their influence.

Hiſtorians, indeed, ſometimes expoſe themſelves to cenſure from too great a refinement of conjecture. They aſſign ſo many motives for the conduct of their heroes, that it is highly improbable all of them ſhould have operated. Of this there are abundant inſtances in Tacitus, Thuanus, and Hume. The reader, however, derives an advantage from the circumſtance; for although it is not reaſonable to conclude, that all ſuch motives had the influence attributed to them; yet he is left at liberty to chooſe that which he thinks moſt probable to have produced the meaſure in queſtion.

In whatever abſtruſeneſs the ſcience of politics may be ſuppoſed to be involved, it is probable, that the motives which lead to the performance of many remarkable actions do not lie very deep in the human mind. The actions themſelves may indeed dazzle by their ſplendour, or ſurpriſe by their novelty; but ſtill they might probably be the reſult of no greater reach of capacity, than that which is exerted in the management of common concerns. There is no ſtate of public affairs, to which the operation of the paſſions, the virtues, the vices, the

calls of public or private intereſt, and the love of glory, will not apply; and into theſe may be fairly reſolved the conduct of monarchs, ſtateſmen, and warriors.

CHAPTER II.

The comparative merits of ancient and modern Hiſtorians.

AS there is no ſpecies of compoſition, to which the faculties of the mind have been more ſtrenuouſly bent, or more laudably directed in various ages of the world, and from which more uſeful information may be derived, than hiſtory; it is doubtleſs very intereſting to conſider, and to determine the comparative merits of ancient and modern hiſtorians. With regard to the nature of their ſubjects, as the purſuits of mankind are now ſo much diverſified, modern writers have great advantages over the ancient. The prevailing employment of ancient times was war; the pages of the hiſtorians are therefore filled with battles and ſieges, which, from the time of Homer to the revival of learning in Europe, weary our attention by uniformity of ſubject. A more particular regard has in ſubſequent ages been paid to laws, cuſtoms, commerce, religion, and government; and every circumſtance relative to the conduct of individuals, tending in any degree to the developement of the genius of a people, is ſcrutinized and diſcuſſed. It is not uſual for modern hiſtorians to introduce thoſe formal harangues of generals in the field, or of ſtateſmen in the ſenate, which conſtitute ſo large a ſhare of the works of

antiquity. However acute they may be in point of argument, appropriate as to character, or dramatic as to effect, they contradict our notions of probability, and only ſerve, by the interpoſition of the ſuppoſed ſpeaker, to diſplay the eloquence of the author. The ſpeeches of Cæſar in his Commentaries, and thoſe which Dion Caſſius compoſed for him, are very different in circumſtances and arguments. Of all that the ancients have left us, none approach ſo nearly to nature and probability as thoſe of the Old Teſtament and Herodotus. The moderns have a wider range of political views; and, from their more extenſive knowledge of various countries, they are better acquainted with the nature of government, and the comparative ſtate of man.

Ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of the regular and general conveyance of letters by poſts, channels of eaſy and expeditious information have been opened; and the intercourſe between one country and another has been more frequent, in conſequence of travelling being rendered ſafe, commodious, and expeditious. The wide diffuſion of literature likewiſe, extending more and more ſince the revival of learning, has multiplied authentic documents; valuable papers are often depoſited in public libraries, where they are acceſſible to the curious and inquiſitive; or, if preſerved by individuals, they are ſoon diſcovered by the active ſpirit of inquiry, and communicated to the world.

An abundance of materials for Hiſtory, however, is not the only requiſite to inform the mind, or ſecure the approbation of the reader. One great fault of the modern hiſtorians is prolixity. The volumes of Thuanus, Rapin, and Carte, are calculated to fatigue the moſt vigilant eye, and oppreſs the powers of the moſt retentive memory. Such writers exhauſt attention by magnifying trifles into importance, and diffuſe a coldneſs over their works by a minute detail of unintereſting affairs, or unimportant remarks. Hence the reader, unleſs he wiſhes to conſult the author upon ſome particular ſubject, turns over many a page with indifference, and finally quits the hiſtorian with diſguſt.

The contraſt with the ancients in this reſpect is remarkably ſtriking. The ancients draw characters, and deſcribe events, with a few maſterly ſtrokes, and paint in ſuch glowing colours of language, that they ſeize the attention at once, and captivate the mind. Their conciſeneſs gives them great advantage, and tends to preſerve the intereſt excited by their deſcriptions. All is animated and forcible; the repreſentations are taken immediately from recent fact; the portraits of human nature are drawn from the life; and the buſy ſcene of action, the tumults of war, and the reverſes of fortune, are placed immediately before our eyes. They write as if they came immediately from the field of battle, or the deliberations of the council. The ſituation of many of the ancients was particularly favourable to this lively ſpecies of compoſition; for Thucydides,

dides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæſar, Salluſt, and Tacitus, were actors in many of the important ſcenes they pourtray, and write under the influence of the deepeſt impreſſions of reality and experience [a].

If however we read with a view to our immediate improvement, the modern hiſtorian claims our more particular regard. He deſcribes actions and events, which have a neceſſary connexion with the times in which we live, and which have an immediate influence upon the government and conſtitution of our country. The ancients may aſtoniſh us by relating thoſe ſudden revolutions, which transferred empires by a ſingle battle: but the moderns ſhew us more of the power and progreſs of the mind, diſplay more fully the cauſes and conſequences of great events, and edify us by examples more con-

[a] From various proofs of the truth of this obſervation which occur to my recollection, I ſelect the following deſcription of the approach of the Perſian army to engage that of Cyrus the younger, in which Xenophon himſelf ſerved, and probably was a ſpectator of the circumſtances he mentions:

Και ηδη τε ην μεσον ημιρας, και ουπω καταφανεις ησαν οι πολεμιοι· ηνικα δε δειλη εγενετο, εφαινη κονιορτος ωσπερ νεφαλη λευκη, χρονῳ δε ου συχιῳ ὑστερον, ωσπερ μελαινια τις εν τῳ πεδιῳ επι πολυ· οτε δε εγγυτερω εγιγνοντο, ταχα δε και χαλκος τις ηστραπτε, και αι λογχαι και αι ταξεις καταφανεις εγιγνοντο. Xenoph. Anabaſis, p. 70, Edit. Zeunii.

Compare this with the deſcriptions of thoſe modern writers who paſs their lives in their libraries, and the difference will immediately appear. One of the ancients I have mentioned might addreſs ſuch perſons in the words of Marius: "Quæ illi audire et legere ſolent, eorum partem vidi egomet, alia geſſi; quæ illi literis, ego militando didici; nunc vos exiſtimate facta an dicta pluris ſint."

genial

genial with our peculiar habits and manners; and which come more within the reach of our imitation.

I. *The Qualifications of an accompliſhed Hiſtorian.*

In order to erect a ſtandard by which to meaſure the merits of hiſtorians, let us form to our minds one of the greateſt characters which can adorn the literature of a country, and endeavour to point out the qualifications, by which an accompliſhed hiſtorian ought to be diſtinguiſhed.

Such a writer chooſes a ſubject adapted to his talents and ſituation. He is moſt fortunate, when his ſtores of knowledge are ſupplied by experience, and his own obſervation; as was the caſe with ſome of the beſt hiſtorians of antiquity, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæſar, and Tacitus; and in modern times Sully and Clarendon. Or if he has not been himſelf an agent in the tranſactions he records, he has recourſe to the pureſt ſources of information. Although it is impoſſible always to ſelect ſuch a ſubject as admits of ſtrict unity of deſign; yet he is convinced that the argument is moſt noble and moſt intereſting, when he can preſerve, without diſtracting the attention of the reader by deſultory digreſſions, a cloſe connexion of all the parts, and in the detail of which he can proceed by a regular gradation of events to ſome important and ſublime concluſion. This hiſtorical

torical unity of ſubject may be beſt illuſtrated by the Retreat of the ten thouſand by Xenophon, and the Roman Hiſtory of Livy. The action is not from the beginning interrupted by extraneous ſubjects, but aſcends from one incident to another, till the principal point is reached. Impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of his duty, he pays the moſt ſacred regard to truth; and his diligence in aſcertaining facts is equal to his accuracy in ſtating them. As far as the infirmities of human nature will allow, he is diveſted of the ſtubbornneſs of prejudice, the violence of paſſion, and the predilection of party. He is convinced that the ornaments and graces of compoſition may properly be employed to embelliſh truth, but that no embelliſhments can compenſate for wilful miſrepreſentation. He guards againſt the flights and the deluſions of imagination, and is therefore careful not to convert hiſtory into romance, or merely adorn his ſubject with the arguments of philoſophical diſſertation, or the pomp of figurative ſtyle. He carefully diſtinguiſhes where he ought to be conciſe or diffuſe, what topics require to be ſtated in plain language, and what are capable of the ornaments of diction. His fondneſs for his work infuſes vigour into his conceptions, and the delicacy of his taſte gives elegance to his ſtyle, and purity to his ſentiments. He is not ſatisfied with taking a ſuperficial view of affairs, but with deep and acute penetration inveſtigates their proximate and remote cauſes, ſeparates them from the diſguiſes under which they are concealed,

and

and deſcends to the true motives of conduct[b]. He breaks through the obſtacles that ſtop the progreſs of vulgar intellect; and produces thoſe thoughts and reflections, in which truth, penetration, and novelty are blended with peculiar ſkill, and ſtrike with certain effect. He diſtinguiſhes from the ſurrounding crowds the examples of eminent talents and virtues, and preſents their pictures either completely finiſhed, or marked by a few bold and expreſſive outlines. He ſelects ſuch circumſtances of their domeſtic, as well as public conduct, as will give the cleareſt inſight into their tempers and manners. In his developement of characters, he regards the MORAL tendency of hiſtory, which is its nobleſt and moſt valuable end. He neither blackens his characters with the aſperſions of malevolence, chaſtiſes them with unjuſt ſatire, nor heightens their luſtre with the varniſh of adulation. If he feels any bias upon his mind, it is that of a true philanthropiſt; he is inclined to draw a veil over the failings of human nature, and not expoſe

[b] It will doubtleſs occur to my readers, that when I made theſe obſervations, I had Gibbon in view. It would lead me into too prolix a detail, if I were to point out how much he has betrayed his truſt, and deſerted the province of a good and fair hiſtorian. My readers are referred to an excellent pamphlet by Dr. Whitaker, in which the incorrect language, contradictions, digreſſions, obſcurities, abſurdities, and violations of decorum by this infidel are ſtated with great clearneſs. See likewiſe a very able Letter to Lord Sheffield, 1796; and the Bampton Lectures of 1790, 2d edition; where I think I have completely expoſed one of *the moſt inſidious* attacks, that were ever made upon the evidences of Chriſtianity.

every

every vice and folly to the public. He diveſts himſelf as much as poſſible of local prejudices, conſiders himſelf as a citizen of the world, and weighs all characters of his own or foreign countries in the balance of impartial juſtice[e]. As it is his grand object to teach by example, he either makes his remarks with brevity, or leaves his reader to form his own judgment from the clear and accurate ſtatement of facts, which he preſents to his mind.

Uſeleſs however will prove his labour, and ineffectual his ſkill, in tracing events and actions back to their cauſes, or in preſerving due order and connexion in his work, unleſs he can inſpire his writings with animation, and excite the intereſt of his readers. For this moſt important purpoſe he diſplays the ſoundneſs of his judgment, the boldneſs of his genius, and the correctneſs of his taſte. He is cautious in his choice of ſuch circumſtances as will pleaſe and ſtrike the mind; and, like a ſkilful poet or painter, he ſtudies the effect of ſelection, combination, and contraſt. He perceives that by

e "Montaigne pretends, but he exaggerates a little, that Guicciardini no where aſcribes any one action to a virtuous, but every one to a vicious principle. Something like this has been reproached to Tacitus. Read Plutarch's compariſons, in what language you pleaſe; you will perceive that they were made by a *Greek*."

"If Thucydides *had not told us* he was an Athenian, it would be difficult to diſcover his country. He ſays nothing in commendation of his countrymen that their actions will not juſtify; and ſhews no marks of reſentment againſt them for having baniſhed him." Bolingbroke, p. iii. &c.

this

this road the ancient hiſtorians were led to fame: he imitates their powers of lively deſcription, and, as often as a proper opportunity will admit, paints the ſcene of action with a rapid pencil dipped in the moſt glowing colours, delineates the lively portraits of the actors, and charms the imagination, and excites the ſympathy of every judicious reader. In ſhort, the accompliſhed hiſtorian is awake to the intereſts of virtue, and is influenced by ſenſibility, and warmed by a proper regard for liberty, and the happineſs of mankind. Theſe principles give energy to his conceptions, and perſeverance to his induſtry. He is beſt qualified to write with true dignity, when he has worked up his mind to a juſt elevation of thought, by reflecting, that it is his glorious and honourable province to addreſs himſelf to all poliſhed nations through the ſucceeding ages of the world. And he will be kept ſteady to the cauſe of juſtice, when he conſiders himſelf as an impartial witneſs, who is bound by his duty to ſtand before the tribunal of poſterity, and is there liable to be arraigned for every offence, againſt the majeſty of truth[d].

By

[d] Μονη θυτεον τη αλεθεια, ει τις ἱστοριαν γραψειν ιοι, [illegible] ἁπαντων αμελητεον αυτῳ· και ὁλως πεχυς ἑις και μετρον ακριβες, αποβλεπειν μη εις τους νυν ακουοντας, ἀλλ' εις τους μετα ταυτα συνεσομενους τοις συγγραμμασιν. Lucian, v. ii. p. 53. edit. Hemſterhuſ.

Many of the requiſites which Lucian in this too much neglected Treatiſe on the Manner of writing Hiſtory, eſteems neceſſary to conſtitute a good hiſtorian, are touched upon with great judgment and ſpirit. There are ſome judicious remarks on this ſubject

By these laws, which may be considered as some of the principal rules of history, every historian may be tried. They furnish an equal standard to direct the writer, and determine the judgment of the reader.

It is the duty of fair criticism to estimate the merits of writers at their just value. If therefore we seek for those historians who approach nearest to this standard, by excelling in that particular department which each has undertaken, we ought to select from the Greek writers, THUCYDIDES and POLYBIUS; from the Latin, LIVY and TACITUS; and from those of Great Britain, CLARENDON, ROBERTSON, and HENRY. Their celebrated productions are marked by strong and lively description, energy of thought, love of virtue, and zeal for truth;—and their refined talents for political speculation were exercised with a view to the welfare of their own countries, and the general improvement of mankind.

subject by the Marquis d'Argenson, who frankly confesses the failure of the French in this noble branch of composition. Choix de Memoires de l'Academie, tom. iii. p. 627. See Hayley's Essay on History, and particularly his Notes; and Cicero de Oratore, lib. ii. sect. 62, 63.

CHAPTER III.

The Hiſtory of the Jews.

THE Iſraelites, or ancient Jews, were thoſe diſtinguiſhed people, who were favoured by the immediate care of the Almighty, and conducted by his eſpecial guidance to Judea, a place of reſidence promiſed to their remote anceſtors. In conſequence of their obſtinacy, idolatry, and wickedneſs, and more particularly for the rejection of their Meſſiah, they were ſubdued by the Romans, after ſuſtaining a ſiege in their metropolis, unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory for its diſtreſſes, calamities, and ſlaughter. Jeruſalem was reduced to ruins, the Jewiſh government was totally ſubverted, and the ſurviving people were diſperſed over moſt parts of the world. Their deſcendants ſtill remain unmixed with the reſt of mankind, and are marked by their original features of national peculiarity: they adhere with the moſt zealous attachment to the religion of their forefathers, and cheriſh the hopes of reſtoration to their former proſperity by means of a glorious and triumphant Deliverer.

They preſerve with the moſt watchful care the ſacred Books of their ancient writers. And aſtoniſhing, *very aſtoniſhing it is to obſerve, that in the prophetical parts of theſe ſacred Books are contained*

all the events before mentioned of their extraordinary hiſtory. Their particular conduct, and the viciſſitudes of their national affairs, were predicted by their Prophets, and more eſpecially by Moſes, their great lawgiver, in the infancy of the world, at the vaſt diſtance of thirty-three centuries from the preſent times. The accompliſhment of theſe predictions bears the fulleſt and moſt ſtriking evidence to the truth and inſpiration of their Prophets, and illuſtrates the diſpenſations of Providence to his choſen people.

Theſe ſacred Books contain likewiſe predictions the moſt exact of the character, office, and actions of the Meſſiah of the Jews, the great lawgiver of the Chriſtians, the appointed Saviour of the world.

Such intereſting circumſtances as theſe, in addition to the peculiar nature of the Jewiſh polity, conſidered as a divine inſtitution, the curious manners and cuſtoms, and the memorable actions of the deſcendants of Abraham, viz. of the moſt ancient people of whom we have any authentic accounts, combine to place theſe Books firſt in order of importance, as in order of time.

If we conſider, I. The great *antiquity* of theſe Books; II. The *proofs* which ſupport their authenticity; III. *Their ſubjects, the characters of the writers,* and the place they occupy in the order of general hiſtory, particularly as they ſtand connected

nected with the Chriſtian Revelation, they will be found to deſerve our very earneſt attention.

I. *The Antiquity of the Scriptures.*

No writings of any other nation can be brought into competition in this reſpect, with thoſe of the Jews. In proof of this aſſertion, it may be remarked, that Moſes lived more than a thouſand years before the age of Herodotus, who is reputed the father of Grecian hiſtory; and rather earlier than he flouriſhed, Ezra and Nehemiah cloſed the records of the Jews[e]. As another proof of the priority of the Jews to the Greeks, it appears by the confeſſion of the Greek writers themſelves, that they received the letters of their alphabet from the Phenicians; and there are very ſufficient grounds for believing, that the Phenicians derived the art of writing from the Jews. The learned and acute Porphyry, who was an equal enemy both to Jews and Chriſtians, and much attached to the learning of Greece, candidly acknowledged, that Moſes, and the Prophets who immediately ſucceeded him, flouriſhed nearly a thouſand years before any of the Greek philoſophers.

The Books, which compoſe the Canon of the Jewiſh Scriptures, have the concurrence of all anti-

[e] Moſes - - - - B.C. 1571 years.
Herodotus - - - 445
The former therefore preceded the latter 1126 years.
Nehemiah lived - - B.C. 456

quity in favour of their originality. They were delivered to the Hebrews in their own language, with every mark of genuineneſs, by the perſons, whoſe names they bear; and theſe perſons, by recording contemporary events, conſtantly appealed to well-known proofs of their regard to truth. The prophetical Books in particular contain the evidences of their inſpiration, as well as of the integrity and piety of their authors. The external proofs are clear and ſtrong, as well as the internal; in conſequence of which all theſe Books have always been preſerved with the greateſt care, and have been held in the higheſt veneration.

It is no leſs curious than important to remark the traditions preſerved in the Pagan world, which confirm the truth of the Pentateuch, or the five books written by Moſes. The tenet of Thales, the great philoſopher of Miletus, that water was the primogenial element; the doctrine of Pythagoras, that the univerſe was created from a ſhapeleſs maſs of paſſive matter; the opinions, that the world was formed by an almighty Power, who gave to man the dominion over the inferior animals; and that man in his primeval ſtate was bleſſed with perfect innocence and happineſs, and reſided in a delightful and ever blooming paradiſe, deſcended from the earlieſt times. Many other parts of Grecian mythology, as well as the traditions prevalent among the various nations of the earth, and particularly among the inhabitants of the vaſt continent of Aſia, agree with the Moſaical account of the creation.

creation. The tradition of a deluge is ſpread over all parts of the world, and is the epoch from which is dated the origin of all records[f].

The Chaldeans preſerved the hiſtory of their Xiſurus, who was the Noah of Moſes. The Egyptians aſſerted, that Mercury had engraved his doctrine upon columns, which had reſiſted the violence of a deluge. The Chineſe hiſtorians record, that Peyrun, a mortal beloved and protected by the Gods, ſaved himſelf in a veſſel from the general inundation. The Hindoos ſay that the waters of the ocean ſpread over the ſurface of the whole earth, except one mountain to the north—that one woman with ſeven men ſaved themſelves on

[f] Cicero thus repreſents the opinion of Thales. "Aquam eſſe initium rerum, Deum autem eam mentem quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret." Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. i. c. xxv. This comes very cloſe to the Moſaic account: "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Gen. i.

For the opinion of Pythagoras ſee Stillingfleet, Orig. Sac. p. 287.

In the firſt book of Ovid's Metamorphoſes may be ſeen the happy ſtate of man in paradiſe, or the golden age; the progreſs of human depravity in the ſubſequent ages of the world; the determination of the Supreme Being to deſtroy the human race, with the exception of one pair, by a general deluge, &c. If you change only the names of perſons and places, you have the Scriptural account given with almoſt minute exactneſs. The effort of the giants to ſcale the heavens is evidently a fiction founded upon the attempt to erect the tower of Babel. The flood of Deucalion is a tranſcript of that of Noah. Jove is a plain abbreviation of Jehovah. Noah, the ark, and the dove, are circumſtances of tradition, or of hiſtory, in almoſt all countries of the world.

this mountain with certain plants and animals. They add, in ſpeaking of their God Viſhnou, that at the deluge he transformed himſelf into a fiſh, and conducted the veſſel which preſerved the relics of the human race. This veſſel is likewiſe a ſubject of tradition in the northern parts of the world[s].

That the ſacrifice of animals was neceſſary to appeaſe the offended gods, was a religious tenet very general and very ancient. The account of the long lives of the Patriarchs is confirmed by writers of various countries. Their primitive manners, and their mode of performing ſacrifices, and offering prayers to the great Author of nature on the ſummits of mountains, and in the retirements of groves, agree with the deſcriptions of Homer, and many other early writers. Zoroaſter, the great teacher of the ancient Perſians, derived from the Books of Moſes the firſt principles of his religion, his ceremonial laws, his account of the creation, of the firſt parents of mankind, of the Patriarchs, and particularly of Abraham, whoſe pure religion he profeſſed to reſtore.

In the attributes and characters of the Heathen gods may be found alluſions to the ancient expreſſions of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the cuſtoms, laws, and ceremonies of many other nations may be traced a reſemblance to the Moſaical inſtitutions. In the accounts of the deities of the Pagans, and

[s] See Sulivan's View of Nature, Letter 67.

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the early heroes and benefactors of mankind, particularly in thoſe which adorn the pages of Grecian hiſtory, are repreſented many of the Patriarchs and illuſtrious perſons of Scripture. Many principles of the moſt eminent philoſophers, many fictions of the moſt celebrated poets, both of Greece and Rome, and many inſtitutions of the moſt renowned Heathen lawgivers, cannot fail, by their circumſtances of reſemblance, to direct our attention to the great Legiſlator of the Jews. The moſt venerable and ancient traditions of the world ſeem to contain the parts of one original and uniform ſyſtem, which was broken by the diſperſion of the primeval families after the deluge, and corrupted by the revolutions of ages. They were the ſtreams, which flowed through the various countries of the earth, from the great ſource of Moſaical hiſtory [h].

Joſephus, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor Veſpaſian. He was a perſon of great learning and eminence, and conducted his inquiries with ſingular diligence, induſtry, and care. He corroborates the teſtimony of the ſacred writers, and illuſtrates their truth; as he not only gives a regular detail of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of the Jews, but introduces conſiderable notices of all thoſe people, with whom they formed alliances, or carried on wars. In his treatiſe againſt Apion, he expoſes the contradictions, which occurred

[h] See Stillingfleet. b. iii. c. 5. Bryant's Mythology, Maurice's Indian Antiquities, and Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World, p. 71.

in the Egyptian, Chaldean, and Phenician records; vindicates the authority of the Jewiſh Scriptures; deſcribes the care, which was taken in their preſervation; and ſtates their ſuperior pretenſions, more particularly in point of antiquity, to the reſpect and reverence of mankind[i].

II. *The Proofs of their authenticity.*

The ſupport given by the earlieſt Heathen writers to the records of Scripture is very ſtrong. The fragments of Sanchoniathon, the moſt ancient hiſtorian of Phenicia, who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed not long after the death of Moſes, confirm the Scriptural account of the origin of the world, and of many perſons and places mentioned in the Pentateuch. Beroſus the Chaldean, and Manetho the Egyptian, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, repreſented ſeveral circumſtances conformably to the accounts given by Moſes[k]. They wrote indeed about the time when the Old Teſtament was tranſlated into Greek; but even taking it for granted, that they derived their accounts from the verſion of the Septuagint, their evidence is of no ſmall importance, as it ſhows the honour which was paid by the moſt learned perſons of the Eaſt to the ſacred records of the Jews; and that they looked upon them as

[i] Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. p. 200. Lardner, vol. vii. p. 30. 259, &c.

[k] Beroſus and Manetho, B.C. 270. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacræ, vol. i. c. iii.

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the pureſt and the moſt authentic ſources of hiſtory.

The tranſactions and literature of the Jews were too remarkable to eſcape the attention of the learned and inquiſitive Pagans, when Judea became a province of the Roman empire. Many particulars relative to the eminent character of Joſeph, as a miniſter to Pharaoh, and as an inſpired prophet; to the emigration of the Jews from Egypt, their miraculous paſſage through the Red Sea, their ſettlement in the Holy Land, the inſtitutions and ceremonies of the Law, the ſplendour of Jeruſalem in its moſt flouriſhing times, the magnificence of the Temple, and the ſupreme, eternal, and immutable nature of the great object of their worſhip, are related by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, and Juſtin. Theſe eminent writers, however erroneous in ſome particulars, are ſufficiently correct in others; and however they may differ in ſome circumſtances from each other, they agree in the great outlines of hiſtory. They ſhow that the Jewiſh records were in their times thought worthy of high credit;—and that facts, well known in the world to be true and important, were faithfully related in thoſe records.

The greateſt care was taken of the books of the Old Teſtament in every period of the ancient church of the Jews. The original copies were depoſited in the temple at Jeruſalem, to ſerve for a ſacred

ſacred memorial to poſterity. They were read in all the ſynagogues as long as the Jewiſh government remained; and the Jews themſelves were ſo ſcrupulouſly obſervant of the ſtrict purity and integrity of the ſacred Text, as to number every letter, and remark how often it occurred. They were accurately tranſcribed in every age, and tranſlations were made into different languages; ſo that, as copies were multiplied, ſecurities for the purity of the text increaſed; and forgery and corruption, in any paſſage of importance, became in the courſe of time impracticable. The whole religion, and all the civil and ſacred eſtabliſhments of the Jewiſh people, were founded upon the books of Moſes in particular, which were addreſſed to his contemporaries—that is to thoſe, who had *ſeen* his miracles, and *heard* his laws from his own mouth, and guarded with the moſt zealous care the volúmes which recorded them. The inſtitutions of Moſes were incorporated into the commonwealth of the Jews; the exiſtence and ſupport of their government depended upon them; and their religion and laws were ſo interwoven, that they could not be ſeparated[1]. Their right to the land of Canaan depended upon their confeſſion of the ſovereignty of God, who gave it to them; and on the truth of the Moſaical hiſtory, relative to the divine promiſes made to the Patriarchs. The diſſenſions, which prevailed among the Jews and Samaritans, were ſuch checks upon both parties, as to preſerve

[1] Stillingfleet, book ii. chap. i.

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the text of the Law in a ſtate of purity; and the diſputes, which prevailed between the Phariſees and Sadducees, ſerved equally to prevent any interpolations in the other books.

Mahomet, the founder of a new religion in Arabia, the acute and determined enemy both of Jews and Chriſtians, who was raiſed up by Providence to be the ſcourge of the degenerate Chriſtians of the ſixth century, profeſſed his veneration of the Patriarchs and of Moſes, and revered the ſanctity of the Jewiſh inſtitutions[m]. Senſible of the high eſteem, in which they were held among all the nations of the Eaſt, he has not only intermixed the moſt important facts related in them, with the abſurd contents of his Law, but has endeavoured, from their expreſſions, to draw arguments in favour of his own miſſion[n]. But what is the ſanction of the author of the Koran to that given by the writers of the New Teſtament? The Evangeliſts and Apoſtles conſtantly refer to theſe ſacred books, and more particularly to the Prophecies. They

[m] Sale's Al Coran, p. 6. 16. 497, &c.

[n] "They ſay, become Jews, or Chriſtians, that ye may be directed. Say nay, we follow the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, we believe in God, and that which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which hath been ſent down unto Abraham, and Iſhmael, and Iſaac, and Jacob, and the tribes; and that which was delivered unto Moſes, and Jeſus, and that which was delivered unto the Prophets from their Lord, &c." Al Koran, chap. 2. entitled the Cow.

apply,

apply, illuſtrate, explain, and quote abundant texts, not merely as human productions, then popular among their countrymen; but becauſe they contained the commands of God, and were the immediate declarations of the divine will. And, to bring forward an evidence of the higheſt authority in their favour, the Saviour of the world himſelf, even He who came expreſsly from heaven to bear witneſs of the truth, exhorted the Jews to *ſearch the Scriptures* for that they teſtified of him. Frequently as he reproved the Jews for their erroneous doctrines and traditions, he never laid to their charge any corruption of their ſacred books. At once to prove their authenticity and divine inſpiration, *beginning at Moſes and all the Prophets, he expounded unto his diſciples in all the Scriptures the things concerning himſelf.* In his final inſtructions to them before his aſcenſion, he reminded them, (I again quote his own moſt ſacred and moſt deciſive expreſſions,) *Theſe are the words which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you; that all things muſt be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moſes, and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms, concerning me*[*]. Our Lord, by thus adopting the common diviſion of the Law, the Prophets, and the Pſalms, which comprehended all the Hebrew Scriptures, ratified the Canon of the Old Teſtament; and by declaring ſo expreſsly that thoſe books contained prophecies which muſt be fulfilled, he eſtabliſhed

[*] Luke xxiv. 44.

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their divine inſpiration; ſince it is an attribute of the Almighty alone to enable men to foretel future events with certainty [p].

Abundant witneſſes in all ſucceeding ages can be brought to confirm the authenticity of theſe holy Scriptures. The Jews, diſperſed ſince the deſtruction of Jeruſalem over all parts of the world, have ever been prepared to ſuffer any hardſhip, rather than renounce the commands of their great Lawgiver, and reject the records of their inſpired Prophets. They have, in common with the numerous Chriſtian converts, laboured in this pious work of preſerving the ſacred volume unimpaired by the accidents of time, and uncorrupted by artful interpolation. One generation has transmitted a regular teſtimony to another, and the chain of evidence has remained unbroken for a ſeries of ages. But where are the pure and unmixed deſcendants of the Greeks or Romans, to atteſt the genuineneſs of *their* moſt eſteemed books? Where are the ſubjects of Solon, Lycurgus, or Numa, who at this preſent time conform to the inſtitutions, and are governed by the edicts of theſe ancient legiſlators? As no ſuch evidences are known to exiſt, vain is it to require them.

To the teſtimony we derive from the *living* deſcendants of the Iſraelites, we have nothing ſimilar

[p] Biſhop of Lincoln's Elements of Chriſtian Theology, vol. i. c. i.

in the world for the ſupport of ancient writings, becauſe they not only from age to age have aſſerted, and ſtill continue to aſſert, their authenticity, under ſuch peculiar circumſtances of oppreſſion and foreign dominion; but adhere to the laws contained in the books in queſtion. Their practice is a demonſtrative proof of their belief; and this double evidence, conſiſting in their conviction of the genuineneſs of the books, and in the direction of their conduct by the rules thoſe books contain, aſcends higher and higher into antiquity, till paſſing through ſucceſſive ages, we reach the preciſe times in which Moſes and the Prophets flouriſhed.

Convinced by the cleareſt arguments of the authenticity of the Old Teſtament, the great Newton eſteemed it the proper introduction to the knowledge of profane antiquity. He found that the periods of Judaical generations and deſcents, which anſwered to the fabulous ages of Grecian hiſtory, were exactly of the ſame length with thoſe, which have been meaſured in later times, ſince hiſtory has been conſidered as authentic. He aſcertained likewiſe, that the Hebrew accounts coincided with the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the general courſe of nature; and were not like the Grecian and Roman chronology, which is in many caſes founded upon improbable and arbitrary ſuppoſitions. Furniſhed with ſuch an important clue to his diſcoveries, this great aſtronomer applied the principles of his favourite ſcience to the elucidation of hiſtory. By conſidering the relation which ſubſiſted between

the preceſſion of the equinoxes and the lapſe of time, he rectified the whole ſyſtem of profane chronology[q]. Thus he diffuſed light over a region of darkneſs, and rendered the records of the Greeks and Romans clear, conſiſtent, and probable, by the application of theſe principles: but ſo far was he from diſturbing the order of events, or contradicting the computations of time ſtated in the ſacred Books, that their truth and accuracy were invariably confirmed by his reſearches[r].

Such are ſome of the proofs which confirm the authenticity of the Old Teſtament; and from a review of them we are juſtified in the concluſion, that in point of ſtrength and authority theſe proofs are ſuperior to thoſe that can be adduced to ſupport any other ancient writings.

III. *The Subjects of the Books, and Characters of the Writers.*

The ſubjects of the Books of the Old Teſtament are truly wonderful and ſtriking, and of ſuch a nature as to ſurpaſs all monuments of profane learning, equally in importance as in antiquity.

[q] The equinoctial points are found by aſtronomers to change their places, and go backward or weſtward, contrary to the order of the ſigns of the Zodiac. This is called their *preceſſion*. Dr. Bradley ſuppoſes it to be a degree in about ſeventy years: the calculation of Sir Iſaac Newton does not amount to ſo much.

[r] Prieſtley's Lectures on Hiſtory, p. 89, &c.

And

And of all the parts which compoſe the ſacred canon, none are more curious than *Geneſis*, the firſt book written by Moſes; becauſe it contains a ſketch of the earlieſt hiſtory of mankind. There ſtand recorded the creation of the world and its inhabitants, the fall of our firſt parents from their ſtate of innocence and happineſs, and their baniſhment from the garden of Eden; the repeated and ſignal promiſes of a future reſtorer of the loſt bleſſings of mankind; the hiſtory of the Patriarchs, honoured by the Revelations of Jehovah; the deſcription of the general deluge; the diſperſion of the progenitors of the human race over all the earth; the adoption of a particular family to perpetuate the remembrance, and eſtabliſh the worſhip, of the true God, and their proſperous ſettlement in Egypt. Inſtances indeed are mentioned of early depravity, and the violence of the paſſions, attended with ſuitable puniſhments; yet ſociety appears under its ſimpleſt form in point of manners, and we diſcern no traces of the luxury and falſe refinement of ſubſequent times.

In the ſacred books of the Jews is recorded an account of the deſcendants of Iſrael; a race of men ſelected from all others, and favoured with ſucceſſive revelations of the divine will. Here are ſhewn the inſtances of their fidelity, perverſeneſs, and diſobedience; their glory, and triumphs; their diſgraces, and their ſubjection to foreign powers. Here is ſeen the ſuperintendance of a divine and eſpecial Providence watching over innocence, ſuſpending wrath,

wrath, and taking the moſt ſignal vengeance upon unrepented offences. Here are developed the failings of the moſt virtuous perſons, and the obdurate wickedneſs of confirmed ſinners. Here are diſplayed the mixed characters even of the moſt excellent men, the eminent examples of faith and piety, of courage and patience, in the conduct of Abraham, Lot, Job, Joſeph, Moſes, David, Hezekiah, Joſiah, and Daniel. And moſt intereſting is it to obſerve, that the knowledge of the one true God was communicated to this people, and preſerved by them alone; that they had the moſt ſublime ideas of his nature and attributes; that a magnificent temple was erected to his honour; a regular ſervice was inſtituted; holy ceremonies were performed; an order of prieſts of one particular family was conſecrated; a pure worſhip was eſtabliſhed by his expreſs command, and regulated by his particular laws. Thus were the Jews enlightened by a knowledge of the true object of divine worſhip; and thus were the purity and holineſs of their religious ordinances conducted at a time, when all other nations preſented a wide ſcene of groſs ſuperſtition and mental darkneſs; when the reſt of the human race, and even the moſt intelligent and poliſhed nations of Ægypt and Greece, ſhewed the moſt abject degradation of their nature, by proſtrating themſelves before idols of their own workmanſhip; and abuſed the evidence of ſenſe, and the faculty of reaſon, by imputing to wood and ſtone the attributes of divine power.

We ſee likewiſe a ſucceſſion of Prophets raiſed up among them, to communicate the divine will, to warn them of evils, and to announce to them bleſſings to come[s]. Theſe holy men, ever obedient to the call of heaven, roſe ſuperior to all worldly conſiderations; and with a ſpirit of intrepidity and independence, which clearly ſhewed that heaven was the ſource of their reliance, they executed their ſacred commiſſions, unawed by the threats of kings, or the reſentment of the people. They foretold remote events in times when they appeared moſt improbable ever to take place, and when no human foreſight, and no calculation of chances, could guide them to the diſcovery of the particular affairs, which fulfilled their predictions. Moſes, in a long and moſt intereſting detail of threats and promiſes, foretold the exact manner in which his people were ordained to be happy or miſerable, according as they followed or diſobeyed the divine laws. At a ſubſequent period, when Jeruſalem was laid in ruins, and the Jews were groaning under the ſorrows of the Babyloniſh captivity, Iſaiah ſolemnly addreſſed Cyrus by his name, more than a hundred years before his birth, as the deliverer of Iſrael, and the new founder of the Holy City[t]. When Babylon was ſhining in the meridian of her glory, and its monarchs ruled over all the nations of the Eaſt with the moſt uncontrolled ſway, the ſame Prophet predicted the

[s] Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. Introductory Chapter, &c.

[t] Iſaiah, B. C. 757. Cyrus, B. C. 589. Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. p. 130.

total

total ſubverſion of their empire, and the complete deſolation of their vaſt metropolis. That all theſe and numerous other predictions were exactly verified by the events, are truths confirmed by the evidence of profance, as well as ſacred hiſtory. The ſame inſpired Prophets had a much more grand and important object in view, than to declare the future diſpenſations of Providence to one nation in particular; for they announced in terms at firſt dark and myſterious, but progreſſively more clear and circumſtantial, the future birth of a Meſſiah—a glorious King—a divine Legiſlator, who was to aboliſh the ſacrifices and religious inſtitutions of the Jews, and proclaim and eſtabliſh a general Law for the obſervance and happineſs of all mankind. Here the Evangeliſts contribute their aid to illuſtrate the declarations of the Prophets, and unite the hiſtory of the Old with that of the New Teſtament, in the moſt cloſe and indiſſoluble bonds of union.

The hiſtorical books of Scripture, conſidered from the giving of the Law to Moſes, to the reformation in the worſhip and government by Nehemiah, after the Babyloniſh captivity, contain a ſummary account of the Jewiſh affairs for a period of eleven centuries[t]. They were evidently not intended to give a complete detail of national tranſactions, as their writers had a more ſublime

[t] Moſes, B.C. 1571. Nehemiah, B.C. 546. Gray's Key, p. 124.

and important end in view. To illuſtrate the prophecies, by relating circumſtances which exiſted at the time when they were uttered, and to ſhow their accompliſhment; to record various revelations of the Divine will, and to deſcribe the ſtate of religion among the Hebrews, and the various diſpenſations of Providence in public, as well as in private occurrences, ſeem to have been their chief objects. Hence it is that the chain of hiſtory is ſometimes broken into detached parts, and its detail is interrupted by a recital of private tranſactions. The books of Scripture occaſionally aſſume the form, and compriſe the beauties of a very intereſting kind of biography. Of this nature are the ſeveral accounts of Job, Ruth, and Eſther; but they are far from being unconnected with the principal deſign of the ſacred writers; inaſmuch as they ſhow that the ſame divine Providence which preſided over the nation at large, extended its particular care to individuals, and that the examples of private virtue were inſeparable from the great intereſts of public welfare and happineſs.

The Iſraelites, for many ages ſeparated from the reſt of mankind by their peculiar inſtitutions, were little acquainted with commerce, and made ſmall advances in thoſe arts, which with a refinement, and a diverſity of employments, introduce luxury and corruption of manners. They were governed by equal laws, and poſſeſſed nearly equal property. They admitted no hereditary diſtinction of rank, except in favour of the regal tribe

tribe of Judah, and the ſacerdotal family of Levi. Their occupations from the earlieſt times were of the moſt ſimple kind, and conſiſted in paſturage and agriculture. To guide the plough, and tend the flock, were employments which, recommended by the innocence of primeval manners, and dignified by length of time, were exerciſed by kings, prophets, and generals. Moſes was called from feeding his flock, to conduct the Iſraelites to the promiſed land; Eliſha forſook the plough, to be inveſted with the mantle of prophecy; and Gideon left the threſhing-floor, to lead the army of his country to battle.

The country of Judea preſented a ſcene diverſified by fruitful vallies, barren rocks, and lofty mountains, and was watered by numerous ſtreams. It produced the palm-tree, the balſam, the vine, the olive, the fig, and all the fruits which abound in the Eaſt. From the labours of the field, and from cultivating the vine, the attention of the Iſraelites was regularly called by religious worſhip, which was intimately blended with the civil conſtitution of the ſtate. The ſplendour of their public ſervices, the pomp and magnificence of their rites and ceremonies, the ſtated recurrence of their various feſtivals and ſacrifices, the ſabbath, the paſſover, the celebration of the ſabbatical year, and the jubilee; and more than all, the conſtant experience of divine interpoſition, filled their minds with the moſt awful and grand ideas, and

gave them the deepeſt impreſſions of the majeſty, power, goodneſs, and juſtice of God.

Theſe were the circumſtances, which combining to form their national manners, had the greateſt influence upon their writings. The hiſtorical ſtyle is marked by the pureſt ſimplicity of ideas, occaſionally raiſed to a tone of elevation. In the works of Moſes there is a majeſty of thought, which is moſt ſtrikingly expreſſed in plain and energetic language. In the prophetical writings, the greateſt ſplendour and ſublimity of compoſition are conſpicuous. They are enriched by thoſe glowing images, and raiſed by that grandeur of diction, which charm the claſſical reader in the moſt admired productions of Greece and Rome. The Royal Pſalmiſt is eloquent, dignified, and pathetic. All the beauties of compoſition unite in Iſaiah—ſuch is the majeſty of his ideas, the propriety, beauty, and fertility of his imagery, and the elegance of his language, employed upon the nobleſt ſubjects which could poſſibly engage our attention. Jeremiah excels in thoſe expreſſions of tenderneſs, which excite with the moſt pleaſing enthuſiaſm the feelings of compaſſion [u].

[u] "Quid enim habet univerſa poeſis, quid concipere poteſt mens humana grandius, excelſius, ardentius, quid etiam venuſtius et elegantius, quam quæ in ſacris Hebræorum vatum ſcriptis occurrunt? qui magnitudinem rerum fere ineffabilem verborum pondere et carminis majeſtate exæquant; quorum cum nonnulli vel ipſis Græcorum poetarum fabulis ſunt antiquiores, ita omnes tantum eos *ſublimitate* exſuperant, quantum *vetuſtate* antiquiſſimi antecedunt." Lowth, Prælect. p. 16. See likewiſe, p. 7, 8, 21.

By

By ſuch peculiar beauties of compoſition are recommended the moſt intereſting details of events, and the moſt faithful delineations of characters. The great Creator calls all things into exiſtence with his omnipotent word. The firſt parents of mankind, innocent and happy, are bleſſed with his immediate converſe, and enjoy the blooming groves of Paradiſe. Joſeph, the pious, the chaſte, and the wiſe, after having undergone great afflictions, and riſing by his own extraordinary merit to an office of the higheſt honour in the court of Pharaoh, diſcovers himſelf in a manner the moſt pathetic to his repentant brethren, and is reſtored to his aged and affectionate father, whom he invites into Egypt to ſhare his proſperity. The Children of Iſrael, guided by the divine Power, which veils its glory in a cloud, paſs ſafely through the Red Sea, in which the hoſts of the impious Pharaoh are overwhelmed. Upon the lofty ſummit of Mount Sinai, Moſes receives the two tables of the Commandments, amid the thunder, lightning, clouds, and darkneſs, which obſcure the great Jehovah from his eyes. The royal Pſalmiſt ſings the wonders of creation, the powers of his God, and his own defeats and triumphs. The peaceful and proſperous Solomon, whoſe renown was extended over all the Eaſt, rears the ſtructure of the magnificent Temple; and amid the multitudes of his adoring ſubjects conſecrates it to the ſervice of the one true God, in a prayer which equally atteſts his wiſdom and piety. In the viſions of futurity, Iſaiah beholds the deliverance of the

choſen People; the complete deſtruction of the great empire of Babylon, by which they were enſlaved; and the promiſed Meſſiah, the Saviour of mankind, ſometimes depreſſed by want and ſorrow, and ſometimes arrayed in the emblems of divine majeſty and power. He predicts the final recal of the Jews to their native land, and the wide diffuſion of the Chriſtian faith. Jeremiah ſinks a weeping mourner over the ruins of his native city, deplores its calamities, and conſoles his countrymen by expreſsly declaring, that they ſhould never ceaſe to be a nation to the end of the world. Daniel explains to Belſhazzar the myſtic characters inſcribed upon the walls of his palace, and views in his wide proſpect of future times, the fates of the four great empires of the world. Cyrus, long before announced by Iſaiah as the great ſubverter of the Babyloniſh empire, and the reſtorer of the glory of Jeruſalem, publiſhes his decree for the reſtoration of the captive Jews; and the holy City and Temple riſe from their ruins with new grandeur and magnificence. The Jews are ſettled and reformed by the pious care of Nehemiah, and the canon of the Scriptures is cloſed by Malachi. This laſt of the Prophets enjoins the ſtrict obſervance of the Law of Moſes, till the great Precurſor ſhould appear, in the ſpirit of Elias, to announce the approach of the Meſſiah, who was to eſtabliſh a new and an everlaſting covenant[x].

[x] For theſe very impreſſive paſſages of the Holy Bible, ſee Gen. i. ii. xliv. xlv. Exod. xiv. xx. The Pſalms. 1 Kings

Such are a few of the intereſting circumſtances contained in the ſacred volume of the Old Teſtament, which engage our attention, charm our imagination, and gratify our curioſity, while they confirm our belief in the great evidences of Revelation. In all theſe works we may remark the bright truths of religious inſtruction ſhining forth amid the venerable ſimplicity of the moſt ancient hiſtory—a hiſtory unrivalled for the grandeur of the ideas which it conveys, the livelineſs of its deſcriptions, and the number of its beautiful and ſublime images.

In theſe volumes of ſacred hiſtory there is an *impartiality* of narrative, which is an undoubted characteriſtic of truth. If we read the Lives of Plutarch, or the Hiſtory of Livy, we ſoon diſcover that theſe writers compoſed their works under the influence of many prejudices in favour of their reſpective countries. A veil is thrown over the defects of their heroes, but their virtues are placed in a ſtrong light, and painted in vivid colours. In the Scriptures, on the contrary, both of the Old and the New Teſtament, the ſtricteſt impartiality prevails. The vices of David, Solomon, and their ſucceſſors, are neither concealed nor palliated. There is no oſtentation of vanity, no parade of panegyric; virtue charms with her native beauty,

viii. Iſaiah ii. vi. ix. x. xi. xiv. xxviii. xxxii. xl. xlii. lx. lxi. lxiii. lxv. and more particularly liii. Lament. i. &c. Daniel v. vii. Ezra vii. Nehem. xiii. Malachi iii. iv.

and

and vice acquires no diſguiſe to conceal her deformity. The characters of perſons are ſketched, and the effects of the paſſions are repreſented without reſerve or concealment; and the moral to be drawn from each deſcription is ſo obvious, as to account for the frequent omiſſion of remarks and applications. The abject condition of the Jews, when prohibited the uſe of weapons of war by the victorious Philiſtines; their relapſes into idolatry, their perverſeneſs of diſpoſition, and their various defeats and captivities, with every circumſtance of private as well as public diſgrace, are recorded without palliation or reſerve. Always riſing ſuperior to the motives which induce other authors to violate the purity, and degrade the majeſty of truth, theſe writers keep one great and moſt important end conſtantly in view, and ſhow the various methods, by which the providence of God effected his gracious deſigns; how he produced good from evil, and employed the ſins and follies of mankind as the inſtruments of his gracious purpoſes.

An acquaintance with the affairs of the Jewiſh nation forms the firſt link in the chain of ancient records. Thus we may obſerve the connexion which ſubſiſts between the branches of ſacred and profane hiſtory. We place the works of pagan writers in their proper ſituation, and give them additional value by making them ſubſervient to the cauſe of religion, and inſtrumental in the illuſtration of revealed truth. If the ſtudent is not called

called upon by professional inducements to drink the sacred streams at their source, by reading the Scriptures in the original language, he may rest contented with translations; and it seems to be a well-founded opinion among the learned, that he may rely with confidence upon the general fidelity of our English version.

To peruse the holy Scriptures is one of the first employments of childhood. We cannot fail to congratulate ourselves that our time has been thus occupied, when our judgment is sufficiently mature to form a comparative estimate of the various productions of literature, and we are fully able to determine their usefulness. And it will be found, as life is verging towards its close—when every other book begins to be insipid and uninteresting, that the Holy Bible, which includes the most ancient records of time, the clearest evidences of a divine revelation, and the joyful promises of eternal happiness, will attract us more and more, as old age advances, and will afford us that divine solace and inexpressible satisfaction, which no other writings can give.

"I durst appeal to the judgment of a candid reader, that there is no history so pleasant as the sacred. Set aside the majesty of the inditer, none can compare with it for the magnificence and antiquity of the matter, the sweetness of compiling, the strange variety of memorable occurrences: and if the delight be such, what shall the profit be esteemed

of that which was written by God for the ſalvation of Men? I confeſs no thoughts did ever more ſweetly ſteal me, and time away, than thoſe which I have employed in this ſubject: and I hope none can equally benefit others; for if the mere relation of theſe holy things be profitable, how much more when it is reduced to uſe[y];"

In conformity with theſe obſervations as to the excellence of the Scriptures, was the opinion of the late Sir William Jones, a perſon, as much diſtinguiſhed by the ſoundneſs of his judgment, as by his extenſive and various learning. In the laſt leaf of his Bible theſe words were written[z]: *I have regularly and attentively read theſe holy Scriptures, and am of opinion that this volume, independently of its divine origin, contains more ſimplicity and beauty, more pure morality, more important hiſtory, and finer ſtrains of poetry and eloquence, than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they may have been compoſed.*"

[y] Biſhop Hall's Meditations.

[z] Seward's Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 176.

CHAPTER IV.

The Hiſtory of Greece.

HE country of Greece preſents a variety of the t pleaſing proſpects, as it is well watered by rs and lakes, divided by lofty mountains and lant vales, favoured by a happy temperature of ıate, and enriched by fertility of ſoil. The abounding with all kinds of marine produc- ıs, and affording the moſt favourable opportu- es for commerce, nearly ſurrounds its winding :es. Such is the appearance of the country, ch, according to the moſt authentic records of ory, was made in very early times a ſettlement coloniſts from Egypt and Phenicia, who, mix- with the natives, built towns, and formed :ral communities independent of each other. :ſe eaſtern emigrants brought with them many litions, which, being afterwards blended with ly Grecian hiſtory, became the copious ſources mythology. The various inventions and arts, ich they introduced among the original inha- ınts of Greece, contributed to augment their ıforts, and civilize their manners. And as in general outlines of their religion, government, l arts, the ſimilarity of the political and reli- gious

gious inſtitutions of the Eaſt may be traced, Greece furniſhes us with an internal evidence of the origin of her coloniſts.

In the early period of this hiſtory there is ſo great a mixture of Eaſtern with Grecian ſtories, and ſo much confuſion of chronology extending through a long ſeries of oral traditions, that an attempt to ſeparate truth from falſehood is as arduous as it is fruitleſs. Fully ſenſible of this difficulty, and deſirous of remedying it by a pleaſing, although an imperfect expedient, Thucydides and Strabo, who are both remarkable for their accuracy and judgment, have conſidered Homer in the light of an Hiſtorian [a]. That their confidence in the truth of the narrative parts of his Poems was not improperly placed, will appear from conſidering, that in the rude ages of ſociety the ſong of the Bard was the only record of paſt events; and although many of his deſcriptions may be fictitious, yet ſome regard to truth, ſome repreſentation of events and actions which really took place, muſt have been the ground of the early reputation of the Iliad and Odyſſey. The connexion, clearneſs, and conſiſtency of many anecdotes preſerved in them, appear very great, when compared with the dark and uncertain traditions of thoſe early ages. The finiſhed picture of primeval inſtitutions and manners, in the deline-

[a] Thucydides, vol. i. p. 7, 16, 18, Edit. Bipont. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 774.

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ation of which Homer deſcends to many minute particulars, is no leſs pleaſing than ſatisfactory. He gives a complete view of the religion, government, and arts of his countrymen at the time of the Trojan war, which took place at the very remote period of more than eleven centuries before the Chriſtian era[b]. A ſtrong argument in favour of his fidelity may be drawn from the accuracy of his geographical deſcriptions, which have been verified by the actual obſervation of many intelligent and inquiſitive travellers. And it may incline us more readily to concur with Thucydides and Strabo in thinking, that he truly records the leading facts, and fairly repreſents the ſtate of manners, at the time of the Trojan war, if we recollect, that in the unaffected energy of his deſcriptions, and his account of the ſimplicity of ancient manners, he agrees very remarkably with the writers of the Old Teſtament, and ſuggeſts to us the ſimilarity of character, which prevailed between the patriarchs of Canaan and the heroes of Greece.

Greece was divided into a variety of unconnected ſtates, diſtinguiſhed by different forms of government, and remarkable for frequent revolutions. Yet as the political importance of them all was for the moſt part relative, and depended, eſpecially in the later and more celebrated periods of their hiſtory, upon their connexion with Athens and Lacedemon, theſe diſtinguiſhed Republics

[b] Homer flouriſhed B. C. 907 years.

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ought to be conſidered with a more immediate view to their RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, ARTS, MANNERS, and CONQUESTS.

I. *The Religion of Greece.*

From the Egyptians and other nations, to whom the Greeks were indebted for their earlieſt laws, they derived their eſtabliſhed religion. To the worſhip of the twelve principal divinities, the gratitude of ſucceeding ages added the deification of heroes, and legiſlators renowned for their important ſervices to ſociety. Various degrees of adoration were paid to the Gods, and to the ſouls of departed heroes. Temples were erected, feſtivals were inſtituted, games were celebrated, and ſacrifices were offered, with more or leſs pomp and magnificence, to them all. A regular gradation of immortal beings was acknowledged to preſide throughout univerſal nature, from the Naiad, who was adored as the tutelary guardian of a ſtream, to Jupiter, the Father of Gods and men, who ruled with ſupreme power over heaven and earth.

The religion of the people extended little beyond the external honours paid to the Gods of their country, and the attendance upon ſacrifices and proceſſions. The ſacred ceremonies were magnificent and public, except that the votaries of Bacchus and Ceres were indulged in their ſecret myſteries. The feſtivals were obſerved with every circumſtance of pomp and ſplendour to charm the eye,

eye, and pleaſe the imagination. A ſacrifice was a feaſt attended with gaiety, and even licentiouſneſs. Every temple was the reſort of the idle and the diſſolute; and the ſhrines of the Cyprian Venus, and the Athenian Minerva, could atteſt that devotion, far from being a pure and exalted exerciſe of the mind, was only the introduction to diſſoluteneſs and debauchery. Athens was moſt renowned for the number of her ſtately edifices, and excelled the reſt of the Grecian cities in the frequency and grandeur of her feſtivals.

The northern regions of Greece were particularly renowned for temples, from whence oracles were iſſued. The temple of Apollo at Delphi, ſituated upon a lofty rock near Parnaſſus, and that of Jupiter in the groves of Dodona, were celebrated for the reſponſes of the Pythia and the prieſts; they were held in the greateſt veneration for many ages; and their oracles were conſulted, even in the moſt enlightened times, by philoſophers themſelves, who, in this inſtance, as well as many others, conformed to the popular ſuperſtitions.

The ſpirit of the religion of ancient Greece was included in theſe principles,—that the worſhip of the Gods was of ſuperior obligation and importance to all other duties,—and that they frequently diſplayed their power in this world, in the puniſhment of the bad, and the proſperity of the virtuous: ſuch were the opinions inculcated by the

moſt celebrated philoſophers and poets. But the common people, more gratified by the fictions of the received mythology, than by tenets of pure ethics, found in the actions recorded of their gods and goddeſſes, a ſufficient juſtification of every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs.

With reſpect to a *Future State* of exiſtence, the philoſophers appear to have fluctuated in uncertainty; as may be collected from the ſentiments of Socrates himſelf. The poets inculcated a belief in Tartarus and Elyſium. Of the former they have drawn a picture in the moſt gloomy and horrific colours, where men, who had been remarkable for impiety to the gods, ſuch as Tantalus, Tityus, and Siſyphus, were tortured with a variety of miſery, ingeniouſly adapted to their crimes. The proſpect of Elyſium is beautiful and inviting, as deſcribed by Homer, Heſiod, and Pindar. In that delightful region there is no inclement weather, but the ſoft Zephyrs blow from the ocean to refreſh the inhabitants, who live without care or anxiety; there reign perpetual ſunſhine and ſerenity of ſky, and the fertile earth thrice in a year produces delicious fruits for their ſuſtenance. Theſe enjoyments were, however, not only of a groſs and ſenſual nature, but were limited to perſons of rank and diſtinction. Proteus informs Menelaus, that he ſhall be conveyed to the iſlands of the bleſſed, becauſe he is the huſband of Helen, and the ſon in law of Jupiter[c]. No incentives to goodneſs,

[c] Odyſſ. iv. l. 56.

from

from the conſideration of a future ſtate, are held out by the older poets to the female ſex, or to the ignoble or vulgar, however pure their conduct, or exemplary their virtues. In later times we find, that Pindar extends his rewards to good men in general; but Euripides is ſometimes ſceptical, and Iphigenia without heſitation expreſſes her diſbelief of the popular mythology.

It is well remarked by the ingenious and learned Jortin, "That it gives us pleaſure to trace in Homer the important doctrine of a ſupreme God, a providence, a free agency in man, ſuppoſed to be conſiſtent with fate or deſtiny; a difference between moral good and evil, inferior gods, or angels, ſome favourable to men, others malevolent; and the immortality of the ſoul: but it gives us pain to find theſe notions ſo miſerably corrupted, that they muſt have had a very weak influence to excite men to virtue, and to deter them from vice[d]." This excellent obſervation may be applied to the ſtate of opinions even in the moſt enlightened times of Greece, when the credulity and ignorance of the vulgar, and the errors and doubts of the greateſt philoſophers, proved the *neceſſity* and the *importance* of the Chriſtian revelation, with reſpect both to the duties of man, and the incentives to the diſcharge of thoſe duties, ariſing from his final deſtination.

The characters of the two great legiſlators of

[d] Jortin, Diſſertation VI. p. 245.

Sparta and Athens were evidently very different. Lycurgus was diſtinguiſhed by the vigour and the inflexibility of his diſpoſition. Solon was mild, circumſpect, and compliant. The marks of their tempers were viſibly impreſſed upon their reſpective political eſtabliſhments.

II. *Sparta.*

It is unneceſſary to enlarge upon the conſtitution of Sparta, previous to the time of LYCURGUS, any farther than to obſerve, that there were two hereditary kings, or preſidents, whoſe power he controlled by giving an equal authority to twenty-eight ſenators[e]. The kings were commanders of the armies, and high prieſts of the temples. Of the ſenators was compoſed the executive and legiſlative council of the ſtate, and with them all laws originated. The aſſembly of the people was inveſted with the power of electing the ſenators; they could give a ſimple negative, or affirmative, to the meaſures propoſed to them, but had no right to diſcuſs their propriety. Lycurgus allotted to every family an equal ſhare of land, prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver, and made iron money alone current, with a view to check the avarice of

[e] B. C. 884 years. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. Mitford, vol. i. c. v. "We are told, that Lycurgus being aſked why he, who in other reſpects appeared ſo zealous for the equal rights of men, did not make his government democratical rather than oligarchal, "Go, you," the legiſlator anſwered, "*and try a democracy in your own houſe.*" Mitford's Greece, vol. i. p. 252.

his ſubjects. He forbid foreign travel, leſt their morals ſhould be corrupted by an intercourſe with effeminate nations. He inſtituted public tables, at which even the kings of Sparta were required to ſhare the coarſeſt viands with their people, and to ſet examples of the moſt rigid temperance. To produce a hardy and vigorous race of men, he cauſed the women to be employed in all athletic exerciſes. The children were carefully inſpected as ſoon as born; the well-proportioned and healthy were delivered to the public nurſes; and thoſe who were deformed, or ſickly, were expoſed to periſh in woods and mountains. Celibacy was held diſreputable; yet the rights of female honour and marriage were not ſecured from violation: for provided the child which was born by promiſcuous intercourſe was ſtrong and robuſt, no inquiry was made to aſcertain its father. All the children of the Spartans were conſidered as the offspring, or rather the property, of the ſtate; and the buſineſs of their public education conſiſted in accuſtoming them to bear the cravings of hunger and thirſt, and endure the ſcourge of diſcipline, and every degree of pain, with patience, and even exultation. The paſſions of the young Spartan were ſo enflamed by patriotic ardour, and his body was ſo hardened by conſtant exerciſe, as to make him eager to undertake, and powerful to accompliſh, every exploit for the glory of his country.

As Lycurgus wiſhed his people to enjoy moſt complete independence, he provided the

means of ſecurity againſt foreign atacks by eſtabliſhing the ſtricteſt military diſcipline. In order, however, to guard againſt the deſire of conqueſt, he forbad his ſubjects to engage too frequently in war with the ſame nations. This was the curb, by which he endeavoured to reſtrain their military ardour: the deſire of conqueſt however was a diſeaſe inherent in the vitals of his ſyſtem, and it frequently broke out in ſucceeding times, as often as any temptation occurred of extending their dominions. By inſtitutions the moſt ſevere ever impoſed on mankind, Lycurgus formed the habits of his people, and even far ſurpaſſed other legiſlators, by regulating their conduct in many circumſtances, which are generally ſuppoſed not to come within the province of legal reſtrictions. He preſcribed rules of the moſt rigid abſtemiouſneſs, inculcated reſpect to age, enjoined modeſty of behaviour, and promoted the conſtant intercourſe of the old and young. In other governments, many valuable inſtitutions ariſe out of caſual circumſtances; the character of the people, and particular ſituation of affairs, which ſometimes direct, and ſometimes impel the legiſlator in the formation of his ſyſtem: but in Lacedemon almoſt every rule ſeems to have ſprung from the comprehenſive mind of Lycurgus, and his inſtitutions were eminently his own. Before his death he ſaw every part of his political machine ſet in motion. The Spartans exulted in their new ſtrength; and their deſire to exert it was ſo ardent, that they were ſoon diſtinguiſhed among the neighbouring ſtates as a warlike

warlike and formidable people. For many ages they manifeſted a firm adherence to the will of their lawgiver; and, not to adduce other examples of their ſtrict adherence to their original inſtitutions, the monument erected in the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, to record the glorious fall of Leonidas, and his brave aſſociates, expreſſed in an inſcription exactly characteriſtic of the genius and the ſpirit of the nation, that they maintained their poſt to the laſt extremity, in obedience to the orders of their country[f].

The reverence of the Spartans for old age, their abſtemiouſneſs, perfect diſcipline, and great bravery, muſt not ſo far blind our judgment, as to induce us to palliate the imperfections of their laws, and the impropriety of their conduct. The honour in which they held the ſucceſsful perpetration of theft, their cruelty to their ſlaves, their inhumanity to children, the indelicacy of their

[f] Ω ξειν' αγγελλειν Λακεδαιμονιοις ὁτι τηδε
Κειμεθα, τοις κεινων ῥημασι πειθομενοι.
Herod. lib. vii. ſect. 455.

The ſentiment is the ſame which Demaratus expreſſed to Xerxes in his character of the Spartans. Herod. Polym. ſect. civ.

To them more awful than the name of king
To Aſia's trembling millions, is the law,
Whoſe ſacred voice enjoins them to confront
Unnumber'd foes, to vanquiſh or to die.
Glover's Leonidas.

Herod. lib. vii. ſect. 219. Mitford, vol. i. p. 407. This writer's relation of the battle is peculiarly diſtinct and accurate. See Plutarch's Lives, vol. i. p. 292.

conduct to women, and the inſenſibility and maſculine energy of character, with which they endeavoured to inſpire them, all unite to mark a ferocious and a barbarous people. The improvement of the mind, and the pureſt feelings of nature, were ſacrificed to ſevere diſcipline, and martial occupations. They extended the ſame rigour to their allies, which they exerciſed at home; and thus became the objects of hoſtility and averſion. By a ſtrange inconſiſtency in their laws, they were trained to arms, but ſtopped in the career of conqueſt; they were made a nation of warriors, yet forbidden to purſue a flying enemy, or to enrich themſelves with his ſpoils.

Eminent as they were in the field of battle, both kings and generals were incapable of compoſing the hiſtories of their campaigns, and no book has ever been tranſmitted to modern times, written by a genuine Spartan of the Doric race. They preferred the exerciſe of arms to the cultivation of letters, and left their exploits to be handed down to poſterity by their enemies.

During the reign of fourteen ſucceſſive kings, through the long period of five hundred years, their power and influence were felt throughout Greece; and for a conſiderable part of that period, the glory of Sparta eclipſed the other ſtates. But in proceſs of time the auſtere manners of her warriors were relaxed by victory and luxury. The univerſal applauſe with which they welcomed, and

and the rapacity with which they divided, the ſpoils of Athens, when that city was taken by Lyſander, were ſtrong indications of their degeneracy. Of this gradual departure from the inſtitutions of their great legiſlator, their ſubſequent venality, luxury, and avarice, were ſufficient proofs[z].

III. *Athens.*

A fairer order of civil polity is diſplayed in the conſtitution of Athens; a conſtitution, which furniſhed not only a model for the laws of Rome, but for moſt of the nations of modern Europe. It was a regular ſyſtem of juriſprudence, extending to every claſs of citizens. The moſt judicious writers agree, that thoſe improvements, which formed the peculiar merit of Athens, were introduced by Solon, about two centuries and a half after the reign of Lycurgus.

The ſituation of Attica naturally directed the attention of its inhabitants to commerce, and naval affairs. They poſſeſſed a country, which although fruitful in vines and olives, was not adequate to the ſupport of its inhabitants, without a ſupply of foreign produce. This deficiency naturally pointed out the ſea to them as the proper ſphere for their exertions, and in proceſs of time they roſe to the higheſt eminence, as a commercial ſtate; their great intercourſe with ſtrangers gave a

[z] Polybius, lib. vi. p. 685. tom. i.

particular

particular direction to their laws, and promoted that urbanity of manners, by which they were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed [h].

SOLON veſted the ſoverign power in the general aſſembly of the people, which was compoſed of free men, whoſe age exceeded thirty years [i]. In order to obviate the evils, which a pure and unmixed democracy muſt unavoidably have produced, when veſted with an abſolute and uncontrouled authority, he eſtabliſhed a balance of power in the council of five hundred. The members of this council were appointed every year by lot, were poſſeſſed of certain legal qualifications, and more particularly were obliged to ſtand the teſt of a ſevere ſcrutiny into their moral character, before they were inveſted with their high office. They had the direction of all political concerns, and prepared buſineſs for the aſſembly of the people, to whom no meaſure was propoſed without their previous ſanction. Solon likewiſe reſtored the court of Areopagus, ſo much celebrated for the pure adminiſtration of juſtice, and the unſullied character of its members, who exerciſed a judicial power, and tried criminals for

[h] See the beautiful picture of Attica, drawn by Sophocles, in the firſt Chorus of Œdipus Coloneus. He celebrates the praiſes of his native country, the various productions of the ſoil, and the matchleſs ſkill of the Athenians in horſemanſhip and naval affairs. It abounds with images ſo truly poetical, that the Old Scholiaſt might well call it—το γλαφυρον και φιλικον μελος.

Johnſon's Soph. Tom. ii. p. 225.

[i] B.C. 594. Putarch's Life of Solon. Mitford, vol. i. chap. 6.

capital

capital offences. It was their duty to inſpect the general behaviour of the citizens, ſuperintend the conduct of youth, and take care they were educated in a manner ſuitable to their rank. But their greateſt privileges conſiſted in a power of reverſing the decrees of the popular aſſembly, in reſcuing the condemned from their ſentence, and condemning the acquitted. Of the juſtice, impartiality, and wiſdom of the Areopagus, in the exerciſe of their ſupreme authority, no higher idea can be given than by the lofty panegyric of the great Roman orator, who affirmed, that this council was as eſſential to the proſperity of Athens, as the providence of the Gods to the government of the world. By the eſtabliſhment of theſe two aſſemblies, a large mixture of ariſtocracy was infuſed into the commonwealth, and the adminiſtration of public affairs was ſecured againſt much of the danger of popular tumult and violence.

In addition to the general aſſembly of the people, the Areopagus, and the council of five hundred, there were no leſs than ten courts of judicature; four for criminal, and ſix for civil cauſes. Over theſe preſided nine archons, who were inveſted with great authority, and the magiſtrate who for the ſake of pre-eminence, was ſtiled "the Archon," exerciſed a religious, as well as a civil juriſdiction. But the merits of the cauſes, and the validity of the evidence which were ſubmitted to their conſideration, were decided by a certain number of men, ſelected from the citizens at large. This Athenian

Athenian eſtabliſhment may bring to our mind one of the moſt celebrated inſtitutions in the legal polity of Great Britain; and the experience of Engliſhmen, from the days of the immortal Alfred to the preſent times, can give the fulleſt teſtimony to the general impartiality, ſteady juſtice, and ſingular excellence of our *Trial by Jury.*

Although the number of inhabitants both in Sparta and Athens was conſiderable, yet the number of thoſe who had a ſhare in the government was ſmall in proportion to the reſt. Solon claſſed his citizens in four diviſions; the rich according to their property were enrolled in the firſt, ſecond, and third; and to the fourth, which included the moſt indigent, was denied the participation of any employments in the ſtate. The number of ſlaves when compared to citizens was very large. From a computation made in the time of Demetrius Phalerius, it appears, that there were more than twenty thouſand Athenians qualified to vote in the public aſſembly; at the ſame time, the ſlaves in actual bondage amounted to twenty times that number [k]. Plutarch has enabled us to aſcertain the numbers of the Lacedemonians at one particular period, as he ſtates, that by the diviſion of their lands, a competent ſubſiſtence was procured for thirty-nine thouſand families. Their ſlaves appear not to have been fewer in proportion than thoſe of Athens, even after the cruel maſſacres to leſſen

[k] B.C. 317.

their

their number. It was not merely by the effects of conqueſt, that ſo many were reduced to a ſervile ſtate, as was the caſe of the unfortunate Helots; but many of the citizens of Athens were driven by extreme indigence to ſell themſelves to the wealthy.

Fully convinced how much ſuch employments would contribute to the welfare of his country, Solon gave the greateſt encouragement to agriculture and commerce; and thus pointed out to his countrymen the true and permanent ſources of comfort and opulence. Such was the liberal ſpirit of his laws, that the rich, while they exerted power, could not oppreſs the poor, who were allowed the enjoyment of conſiderable privileges. The tyrant Piſiſtratus and his ſucceſſors infringed this fair and equitable plan of government[1], and the ſtruggles of the Athenians for their rights in ſucceeding times, conſpired, with other cauſes, to involve them in wars with the Perſians. Greater conceſſions, made to the populace at various times, contributed ſtill more to undermine the inſtitutions of Solon; and before the age of Demoſthenes, the ancient ſpirit of the conſtitution was extinguiſhed, and the whole direction of the ſtate was abandoned to the arts of factious and venal demagogues.

The different laws of Sparta and Athens produced, in the courſe of time, a correſponding difference in

[1] B. C. 560.

their

their manners. The performances of the theatre, the popular aſſemblies, and the ſacred feſtivals, employed the inhabitants of Athens, while the Spartans, indulging in no amuſement or relaxation, were inceſſantly buſied in the exerciſes of war. The ſtreets of Athens reſounded with the lively notes of muſic, and their ſongs were dictated by the tender paſſions of pity and love: the poets of Sparta rehearſed only the ſtern virtues of departed heroes, or rouſed her ſons to martial exploits by the deſcription of battles, victory, and death. In Athens the ſportive ſallies of wit, and the gay images of fancy, gave a peculiar vivacity to ſocial intercourſe: the ſeriouſneſs of a Spartan was manifeſted in his cautious reſerve, his grave deportment, and the peculiar conciſeneſs of his ſharp and pointed repartee; the virtues of a Spartan were gloomy and auſtere; the diſſipation of an Athenian was engaging and agreeable. The one was an illiterate ſoldier, whoſe character was formed by martial diſcipline alone; the other was a man of genius, of taſte, and of letters, who enjoyed the advantages of refinement and knowledge[m]. The

[m] This contraſt of character is finely touched by Pericles in his celebrated Oration on the Athenians ſlain in the Peloponneſian war.

Και μην και τῶν πονων πλειστας αναπαυλας τῃ γνωμῃ ηπορισαμεθα, αγῶσι μεν γε και θυσιαις διετησιοις νομιζοντες, ιδιαις δε κατασκευαῖς ευπρεπεσιν ων καθ' ἡμεραν η τερψις το λυπηρον εκπλησσει. επεισερχεται δε δια μεγεθος της πολεως εκ πασης γῆς τα παντα· και ξυμβαινει ἡμιν μηδεν οικοιοτερα τη απολαυσει τα αυτῳ αγαθα γιγνομενα καρπουσθαι, ἡ και τα των αλλων ανθρωπων. Διαφερομεν δε και ταις τῶν πολεμικων μελεταις των εναντιων τοισδε. την τε γαρ πολιν κοινην παρεχομεν, και ουκ εστιν οτε ξενηλασιαις απειργομεν τινα η μαθηματος ἡ θεαματος, &c. Thucyd. Lib. 2. p. 57. Tom. 2. Ed. Eipont.

 moroſeneſs

moroſeneſs of the Spartan was increaſed by holding no intercourſe with other nations; whereas by the laws of Solon, ſtrangers were invited to Athens, and were admitted to all the privileges of citizens. In Athens, liberty of action was ſhewn in every indulgence of ſocial pleaſure; in Lacedemon, the ſpirit of ſociety, diveſted of its charms to amuſe and to enliven, was made ſubſervient to the affairs of the ſtate. The temper of Lacedemon was depreſſed by exceſſive ſubjection, while that of her rival, rendered arrogant and vain by licentiouſneſs, was remarkable for a reſtleſs activity, and a capricious ficklenes. Impatient both of freedom and ſlavery, theſe great republics had few principles in common except glory and ambition; and they continually embarraſſed each other in the execution of their reſpective projects to obtain the ſovereignty of Greece. The ſpirit of independence, however, was for the moſt part predominant in the other ſtates; and the yoke either of Sparta or Athens was regarded as heavy and intolerable. Diſcordant as their reſpective intereſts were, a train of events ſucceeded, which cauſed them to ſuſpend their animoſities, to unite in a general alliance, and to equip their fleets, and lead forth their armies, not only to repel a formidable invaſion, but to avert the ſtorm which threatened the deſtruction of their political exiſtence.

Among the colonies of Greece, ſettled upon the coaſts of Aſia Minor, the Ionians occupied the moſt pleaſant and fertile territories. In order to reſiſt

the

the force of the Perſian power, which was exerted to cruſh their inſurrection, they ſolicited the aid of Athens, their mother country. Reinforced by their aſſiſtance, they burnt the ancient city of Sardis; and although they were defeated after the accompliſhment of this daring enterpriſe, the reſentment of the Perſian monarch was rouſed to inflict vengeance on the Athenians for their interference[n]. Such was the immediate cauſe of thoſe memorable wars, which contributed to mature the martial genius of the Greeks; and the intereſting accounts of which gave ſplendour, dignity, and glory, to the moſt authentic pages of their hiſtory.

The train of events, to which this diſſention led, involved likewiſe the moſt important intereſts of the Perſians; for the wars, begun upon ſlight grounds with the Greeks, terminated at laſt in the ſubverſion of their empire.

IV. *The moſt glorious Age of Greece.*

Of all the expeditions recorded in ancient hiſtory, that which was carried on againſt Greece by the Perſians is mentioned as the moſt formidable, whether the great forces which were brought into the field, or the obſtacles which they ſurmounted previous to their engagement with their enemies, be conſidered. The minute and exact relation given

[n] Herodot. lib. vii. ſect. 38a. edit. Weſſeling. Mitford, vol. i. p. 315.

by

by Herodotus [o] of the vaſt preparations made by Xerxes, and the ardour with which he purſued his gigantic enterprize, contribute to raiſe the reputation and glory of the Greeks to the higheſt pitch, when we conſider the apparently inadequate means of their defence and reſiſtance. Yet what was the ſucceſs of the vain deſpot of innumerable hordes of undiſciplined barbarians, when oppoſed to the determined valour and confirmed diſcipline of regular armies, commanded by generals of conſummate talents and approved experience? The Hiſtorian above mentioned will give us the moſt ſatisfactory anſwer to this queſtion.

The ſignal victory obtained in the plains of Marathon over the Perſians, was effected by the ſagacity, experience, and valour of Miltiades [p]. The fall of Leonidas and his illuſtrious Spartans in the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, taught Xerxes to reſpect their unexampled proweſs, and to regret a victory obtained over a ſmall band of heroes, by the loſs of the choiceſt ſoldiers of his army [q]. The Athenians, abandoning their native city, truſted their fortune to the ſea, and under the conduct of Themiſtocles, engaged the fleet of Xerxes near the iſland of Salamis [r]. From a lofty throne on Mount Egialos, the Perſian

[o] Herodot. lib. vii. ſect. 391, &c.

[p] B.C. 490. Herodot. lib. vi. ſect. 109. Mitford, vol. i. c. 9.

[q] B.C. 480.

[r] B.C. 480. Mitford's Greece, vol. i. p. 389, &c. Herodotus, lib. viii. ſect. 485. Plutarch, vol. i. p. 280. 303.

" Salamis was called by Euripides a land rich in bees, and fertile in olives; and the predilection he diſcovers for this place,

Perſian monarch obſerved the fatal action, and witneſſed the total deſtruction of his vaſt navy[s]. The battle of Platæa eſtabliſhed the renown of Pauſanias; and his victory was rewarded with the coſtly ſpoils of the Perſian camp. On the ſame day, the Greeks were equally ſucceſsful at the promontory of Mycale in Ionia, where they devoted the rich camp and powerful fleet of the enemy to the flames. Theſe ſignal events reſtored liberty to the faireſt portion of Aſia, where the Greek colonies were planted, and completely fruſtrated the deſigns of Xerxes to enſlave the nations of Europe. At a later period, the aſtoniſhing retreat of the ten thouſand, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the younger Cyrus againſt his brother Artaxerxes, under the command of the youthful Xenophon[t], through a long track of hoſtile country, kept alive the ſpirit of ſuperiority, and taught Alexander the Great that the conqueſt of the Eaſt might be achieved by Grecian troops.

For half a century after the repulſe of the armies of Darius and Xerxes, Athens maintained, without controul, the pre-eminence of her power. The farther progreſs of the Athenians, in extending their

juſtifies the opinion that he was born there. Thus it could at once boaſt of having given birth to the chief tragic poets, as well as to Solon, the moſt illuſtrious of legiſlators; and this glory ſurely equalled that of a naval triumph, now ſo little intereſting; while the Iphigenia in Tauris, and the legiſlation of Solon, are objects of univerſal admiration." De Pauw, vol. i. p. 56.

[s] Æſchyli Perſæ, l. 463, &c. [t] B. C. 354.

dominions,

dominions, was aſſiſted by colonization and commerce. Their navies rode the ſeas in triumph, and their merchants exchanged the ſuperfluous productions of Attica for the choiceſt fruits of diſtant countries. The large and fertile iſland of Eubœa was numbered among their territories; their dominion extended over the Aſiatic coaſt for the ſpace of a thouſand miles, from Cyprus to the Thracian Boſphorus, and over forty intermediate iſlands. They planted colonies on the winding ſhores of Macedon and Thrace, and commanded the coaſts of the Euxine Sea from Pontus to Cherſoneſus Taurica, or Crim Tartary. Theſe trophies of naval power were erected, not over ignorant barbarians, but over men, who had the ſame language and laws, the ſame arts and lineage, who had every thing common with their mother country, except ſkill in navigation, and proweſs in the field.

And here we pauſe, to contemplate the ſtriking qualities of thoſe chiefs, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo much in the ſervice of liberty and Greece, when the Perſians were driven from her ſhores. The illuſtrious perſons, who moſt contributed to raiſe Athens to its higheſt pitch of martial glory were Miltiades, Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Ariſtides. Miltiades united the moſt acute penetration into the deſigns of the enemy, to a perfect acquaintance with his own army; and when it was neceſſary to hazard an engagement, he always diſplayed his talents in chooſing ſuch a field of battle as gave him a decided advantage. Themiſtocles acquired the

greateſt renown by directing the whole attention of his countrymen to naval affairs, and ſecuring the command of the ocean. Ariſtides, equally illuſtrious for his integrity, ſteadineſs, and moderation, ſhared the glory of Miltiades in the plains of Marathon, and was eminently diſtinguiſhed by his military talents both at Salamis and Platæa. By his judicious conduct he ſtrengthened the Grecian confederacy, and provided ample ſupplies for the continuance of the war. Cimon, equal in courage to Themiſtocles and Miltiades, and ſuperior in integrity of conduct, the liberal and diſintereſted benefactor of his indigent countrymen, brought the navy of Athens to ſuch a ſtate of perfection, and encountered the enemy with ſuch ſucceſs, that Perſia, degraded and beaten both by ſea and land, was confined to the limits of her own empire.

It is however melancholy, after viewing theſe illuſtrious perſons in the meridian of their fame, to remark the ſtorms of misfortune which obſcured and harraſſed ſome parts of their lives. Miltiades, perſecuted by a relentleſs faction, died in priſon of the wounds he had received in the ſervice of his country[a]. Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, and Cimon were condemned to exile; and Phocion, the deſpiſer of the gold of Alexander, and the ſucceſsful oppoſer of the Macedonians, ſuffered death by a decree of the people.—Such were the rewards beſtowed upon

[a] Mitford, vol. i. p. 351. Vol. ii. p. 33. 85, &c.

perſons the moſt eminent for military talents and public ſervices under a democratical government! The hatred even of that honourable ambition which was excited by the praiſe of the people themſelves, and encouraged by their moſt diſtinguiſhed favours; —the moſt trifling apprehenſion of an invaſion of their liberty, the jealouſy of aſpiring talents, and a temper capricious and volatile, hurried the popular aſſemblies of Athens into acts of cruelty, ingratitude, and oppreſſion, againſt their moſt deſerving patriots, and their greateſt benefactors.

Nor was leſs ſeverity in many inſtances exerciſed againſt artiſts and philoſophers. Phidias, the moſt excellent of ſculptors, was falſely accuſed of embezzling part of the gold he had received for decorating the ſtatue of Minerva, and cloſed his life in priſon [x]. Anaxagoras, who founded the principles of a pure philoſophy, upon the inveſtigation of the works of nature, was proſecuted for a charge of impiety, and driven into exile. Even Socrates, his amiable and unoffending diſciple, the reformer of the corrupt manners of youth, and the teacher of the moſt rational and ſublime morality that ever was inculcated by a heathen ſage, became the victim of party cabal and popular ridicule, and was condemned to ſuffer death [y].

We have already obſerved, that theſe were not the only ſufferers under a democratical form of

[x] B. C. 432. [y] B. C. 400.

government. The moſt numerous claſs of the inhabitants of Greece conſiſted of ſlaves—a deſcription of perſons, who without any regard to their poſſeſſing the ſame powers and faculties, both of body and mind, as their maſters, were wholly abandoned to the mercy of their deſpotic will. They were employed in the moſt degrading occupations, and, without enjoying the privilege of appealing for redreſs to the civil magiſtrate, or ſpeaking in their own defence in a court of juſtice, were, upon the moſt trivial pretences, chaſtiſed with blows and ſcourging, and condemned to the rack. No hopes of future good alleviated their hard condition; for although with a degree of refined policy their increaſe was encouraged, they had nothing to bequeath to their offspring, but an inheritance of miſery, and a condition of degraded humanity worſe than that of the brute creation [z].

In Athens, it muſt be confeſſed, they were treated with leſs cruelty, allowed more freedom of conduct, and were in many caſes permitted to claim the protection of the laws. Their courage in war was ſometimes recompenſed by the gift of liberty; yet even in a ſtate which boaſted to be the nurſe of freedom, and the miſtreſs of refinement, there was

[z] Mitford, vol. i. p. 210. 254. 270. Plutarch's Lives, vol. i. p. 139. Potter's Antiquit. vol. i. p. 55. Ælian ſays expreſsly, that it was the common opinion of all Greece, that a terrible earthquake, which happened four hundred and ſixty-ſeven years before Chriſt, was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans, for treating their ſlaves with cruelty. Hiſt. Var. lib. iii.

a public

a public ſlave market. The Spartans diſdained the occupations of agriculture and trade, and committed every low and mechanical employment to the wretched deſcendants of the inhabitants of Helos, whoſe city they had raſed for refuſing to pay them tribute. In return for their faithful ſervices, theſe unfortunate men were treated in the moſt rigid and barbarous manner, and the dexterity with which their inhuman maſters could ſurpriſe and deſtroy an enemy by ambuſcade, was frequently practiſed upon their wretched domeſtics, while labouring in large parties in the fields.

The conduct of the Greeks to their ſlaves ſeems to prove, that they eſteemed liberty and its bleſſings their own excluſive privilege. It is indeed a ſingular inconſiſtency in their character, that at the time when they were exerciſing deſpotic ſway over their wretched domeſtics, the orators were employed in the moſt ſevere invectives againſt arbitrary power, and all Greece was rouſed to oppoſe the tyrants of Perſia and Macedon. Rome alſo, even in the periods of her hiſtory moſt remarkable for the extent of knowledge, refinement, and civilization, boaſted of the multitude of her ſlaves. Their wrongs and their afflictions fixed a ſtain upon the nation equally indelible with that of Greece. In *modern* times, the ſame oppreſſive inſtitution has been continued, but attended with circumſtances of cruelty reſpecting the modes, by which ſlaves are procured, which would put a Roman, or a Greek, to the bluſh. The innocent and wild natives of the foreſts

and deſerts are ſnatched from their beloved ſhores, torn from every tender connexion, and condemned to impriſonment and chains, during a tedious and painful voyage, which is only a prelude to greater afflictions. The lamentations of Africa, for the loſs of her unoffending natives, are heard from Guinea to the Cape of Good Hope. The eternal laws of juſtice, the tears of humanity, and the mild and merciful principles of Chriſtianity, call for an abolition of this infamous traffic in human fleſh. But the greedy Europeans, even thoſe who diſgrace the names of Proteſtants and of Engliſhmen, liſten only to the voice of avarice; their miſerable ſlaves are ſtill condemned to drag the galling chains of bondage, while many of their rigid maſters are regardleſs of their entreaties, their ſufferings, and even of their deſpair.

V. *Grecian Women.*

The Grecian women continued to be kept in ſeclusion and retirement, even in the moſt refined times, from a reſpect to ancient cuſtoms. Their reſidence was limited to a remote part of the houſe, which took its name from its particular deſtination to their uſe; they were viſited by no perſons but their neareſt relations, and when they went from home, they were obliged by law to be attended by a ſlave, carrying a lighted torch. Their time was engaged by the employments of the diſtaff and the ſhuttle, and by the care of bringing up their children. Such a mode of life was not only calculated

to

to inſpire them with modeſty and diffidence, which is natural to perſons unaccuſtomed to promiſcuous converſation, and public life, but to cheriſh the growth of all domeſtic virtues. One of the greateſt orators of Athens gives a lively idea of this recluſe ſtate, by aſſerting, that it was the higheſt honour to a woman not to be the object either of public praiſe or cenſure. Amid the turbulent concerns of democratical government, and the activity of military expeditions, no leiſure was found for the ſexes to improve the arts of converſation, enlarge the ſphere of their knowledge, and poliſh their manners. The female character was degraded, the paſſion of love was coarſe and indelicate, and the women were looked upon rather as the ſlaves than the equals of men. Their education was totally neglected, and little value was ſet upon thoſe female accompliſhments, which, combined with the charms of beauty, and native elegance of mind, have ſo much influence in improving the manners of the moderns[a].

It ſeems probable that this may be relied upon as a juſt picture of the modeſt women of Athens. During the period we are conſidering, courteſans, ſkilled in all the arts of ſeduction, were numerous throughout Greece, and their profeſſion was countenanced by men of the firſt eminence[b]. The beautiful Aſpaſia, born at Miletus, the chief city of Ionia, was the firſt who introduced Aſiatic elegance

[a] Mitford, vol. ii. p. 119. Anacharſis, vol. i. p. 438. Millar's Origin of Ranks, p. 113.

[b] B. C. 440.

into

into Europe. She had the gratification to add Pericles to the liſt of her admirers, and gained ſo complete an aſcendency over him, that he was accuſed of engaging his country in wars to avenge his quarrels. Under his ſanction, ſhe formed a ſociety of courteſans, whoſe arts were employed to attach the young Athenians to her intereſt. Such were the charms of her converſation, that Socrates himſelf, his accompliſhed pupil Alcibiades, the men of letters, and the moſt celebrated artiſts, frequently repaired to her houſe. This circumſtance may furniſh a proof of the low ſtate of mental accompliſhments in the virtuous part of the ſex, even during the moſt refined period of Grecian hiſtory.

The ſplendid train of ſucceſs, which rewarded the valour of Athens in the fifth century before Chriſt, forms the moſt glorious era in her annals. In the early parts of this hiſtory, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to very obſcure and uncertain accounts to ſatisfy our inquiries: ſometimes we muſt be content with the deſcriptions of poets, and the fables of tradition, and we muſt acquieſce in conjecture, where authentic memorials are not to be obtained. But with reſpect to this illuſtrious period, the difficulty conſiſts rather in the ſelection, than in the diſcovery of materials. The treaſures of information are rich and various, as theſe topics of ancient glory have been recorded by the diligence of hiſtorians, adorned by the eloquence of orators, and heightened by the invention of poets. The light of genius diffuſes its moſt ſplendid radiance over objects,

objects, which were not only endeared to all the writers of Greece by the attachment of patriotism, but supplied the beſt foundations for their literary fame. The triumphs obtained over the Perſians are conſecrated to endleſs renown by the works of Æſchylus, Lyſias, Iſocrates, Demoſthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon[e].

Our ſurpriſe, when we remark the ſmall number of thoſe Greeks, who on ſuch diſtinguiſhed occaſions vanquiſhed very ſuperior numbers of Perſians, will be diminiſhed, when we conſider the comparative ſtate of military education and diſcipline. The Greeks acquired by their gymnaſtic exerciſes a robuſt conſtitution, and agility of limbs. The ſucceſsful competitor for the crown of victory, by running the race, hurling the ſpear, or driving the chariot, obtained no leſs renown for himſelf than he reflected on his family and his country; and he was exalted in the opinion of the applauding multitudes to the ſummit of human felicity. The poſt of honour in battle was the reward of his courage, alacrity, and ſkill in the Olympic conteſts. Their frequent exerciſe in war enured the Greeks to hardſhips and fatigue, and accuſtomed them to thoſe rapid movements in the field, which frequently decided the fate of armies. Thoſe who ſignaliſed

[e] Æſchylus flouriſhed B. C. 485. Herodotus 445. Thucydides 426. Lycias 412. Xenophon 400. Iſocrates 377. Demoſthenes 350.

them-

themſelves in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, had before obtained rewards at the public games. There the flame of emulation was kindled, which afterwards burned with inextinguiſhable ardour, wherever they ſtimulated each other by the moſt powerful conſiderations, to fight for the temples of their gods, the tombs of their anceſtors, and the ſafety of their wives and children [d].

Their cloſe and firm phalanx, formed of the moſt robuſt and hardy youth in the front ranks, and the moſt ſteady veterans in the rear, was ſcarcely to be reſiſted by any ſuperiority of undiſciplined numbers. Upon their heads they wore helmets of iron, their bodies were covered with coats of mail, and protected by maſſy bucklers, their legs were fenced with brazen greaves, and their offenſive weapons were two-edged ſwords, and long ſpears. The Perſians on the contrary, in compariſon with the troops of Greece, formed only an irregular crowd, compoſed of various nations [e]. Their weapons of attack were

[d] Such was the exhortation which reſounded through the leading ſquadron of their fleet at the battle of Salamis:

——— Ω παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,
Ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
Παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῴων ἕδη,
Θήκας τε προγόνων. Æſchyli Perſæ, l. 400.

[e] Travels of Anacharſis, vol. ii. p. 134. 167. Mitford's Greece, vol. i. p. 366. There is a full and poetical enumeration of the troops that followed Xerxes, in the beginning of the *Perſæ* of Æſchylus. He deſcribes what he ſaw, for he fought at Marathon,

were darts, bows and arrows, their left hands ſupported like targets of oſier, upon their heads they wore ſilken turbans, and their bodies were covered with plates of thin metal. But their inferiority, when compared with their enemies, was in no reſpect ſo manifeſt, as in the want of emulation and public ſpirit. Their minds were enervated by the enjoyment of wealth and luxury, and fettered by the bondage of tyranny. They were inſenſible to that love of glory, and to that pure and diſintereſted ſpirit of enterpriſe, which fired the breaſt of every Grecian ſoldier, and prompted him to ſeek the field of battle, as the nobleſt ſphere for the exerciſe of his talents.

"While the army of Xerxes was recommencing their march from Thermopylæ, ſome Arcadians were tempted by the fame of the great king's riches and liberality, to offer their ſervices to him. Herodotus ſeems to relate their ſtory, not more for the purpoſes of eulogy, than of admonition to his country. They were introduced, he ſays, to the preſence of Xerxes, and being aſked what was doing in Greece, they anſwered with great ſimplicity, that it was the ſeaſon of the Olympian games, and that conſequently, the Greeks were amuſing themſelves with ſeeing athletic exerciſes, and horſe-races. Being again aſked what was the reward of

thon, Salamis, and Platæa. He repreſents the Perſian army as chiefly conſiſting of cavalry, and armed in the manner I have mentioned.

the

the conquerors in thoſe games, they anſwered, an olive garland. Upon which, Tritantæchmes, a prince of the blood-royal of Perſia, exclaimed—O Mardonius, what a people have you brought us to fight againſt, who contend among themſelves—not for riches, but for virtue*!"

* Mitford's Greece, vol. i. p. 394.

CHAPTER V.

The Hiſtory of Greece continued.

Arts and Literature.

THE ſame ſpirit of competition which rouſed the Grecian cities to contend for victory and renown, excited them to a rivalry of talents. As ſoon as the apprehenſions of danger from the inroads of barbarians were removed, they began to cultivate the arts of elegance; and the defeat of the Perſian power, and the death of Alexander the Great, containing an intermediate ſpace of 180 years, diſplayed the genius of Greece ſhining with its brighteſt ſplendour. The name of the painter and the ſculptor was celebrated in feſtivals; their works were exhibited at the public games, and they were reputed to confer, by every ſpecimen of their art, diſtinguiſhed honour upon their country. The monuments of their talents reflected luſtre upon their character, and gave it the higheſt reſpectability; as it was their noble province to expreſs the likeneſs of heroes, and to embody the perfections

of

of the gods[a]. To be publicly diſtinguiſhed with higher honours than his competitors, was the great object of the artiſt, and his unremitting and ardent efforts to excel them, gave to his works that grace, beauty, and ſpirit, that exquiſite expreſſion of paſſions, and appropriate dignity of character, which mark the Venus de Medici, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Laocoon. And if the opinion of ſome modern connoiſſeurs be well founded, that theſe admirable ſtatues are the productions of *later* artiſts, what muſt we conclude the *originals* of ſuch maſterly copies to have been? Certainly ſuch as to raiſe our ideas to the higheſt pitch of attainable perfection.

The arts called forth by the moſt lively images the great events and characters of hiſtory. Every public edifice in Athens was filled with the ſtatues of warriors, magiſtrates, legiſlators, philoſophers

[a] For the cauſes of the ſuperiority of the Greek artiſts, ſee Winkelmann's elegant and pleaſing work, tom. ii. p. 1, &c. A beautiful chapter on the Origin, Progreſs, and Decline of Arts in Greece, may be found in tom. i. p. 37. tom. ii. c. 1. For a beautiful deſcription of the Venus de Medici ſee Spence's Polymetis, p. 66. Winklemann, tom. ii. p. 75.—the Apollo Belvidere, Spence, p. 83. Winklemann. tom. iii. p. 195.—the Laocoon, tom. i. p. 68.

"The moſt famous *apographum* or copy of our day is the Venus de Medici. The attitude of this ſtatue, like the works of Polycletus, proves it to be a copy of the Venus of Gnidus, and the inſcription it bears is regarded by Mr. Marietti as another forgery." Pauw, vol. ii. p. 70.

and

and orators. In one place ſtood Miltiades, frowning deſtruction on Perſia; in another, the placid Socrates, the thoughtful Solon, and the empaſſioned Demoſthenes. Every ſtreet preſented an Athenian with ſome ſtriking example of valour, wiſdom, or patriotiſm. Wherever he turned his eyes, he ſaw ſome monument raiſed to perpetuate the renown of his anceſtors; and the precious tribute of the arts, ſo liberally paid to all perſons of genius, courage, and virtue, gave the keeneſt excitement to the diſplay of every ſpecies of excellence [b].

Thus is diſplayed to our view a proſpect moſt delightful to every cultivated mind; for we behold Greece in her moſt flouriſhing ſtate, adorned by literature, arts, and ſciences. The nature of the country was congenial with the temper of its inha-

[b] Winklemann diſtinguiſhes the ſtyles of ancient art. One ſpecies he calls the *high ſtyle*, for which the works of Phidias, Polycletus, and Myron were celebrated. Their principal object was to combine beauty with ſublimity. Their figures diſcovered a certain hardneſs of execution, when compared with the flowing contour, and elegant forms of their ſucceſſors. A ſpecimen of this high ſtyle is the Pallas of the Villa Albani, and the Niobe and her daughters of the Villa de Medici. Another ſpecies is the *fine ſtyle*, diſtinguiſhed from the former by grace. It commenced with Praxiteles, and gained its height under Lyſippus and Apelles, in the reign of Alexander the Great. Of this ſpecies are the Zephyr, expreſſive of tranquil joy, in the act of gently waving his wings: the Leucothoe of the Capitol, and the heads upon the medals of the iſle of Naxos. Other examples are, a Muſe larger than life, in the Barberini Palace, and another Muſe in the Pope's Gardens on the Quirinal Hill. Winkelmann, Art. d'Antiquit. tom. ii. p. 219.

bitants, and their eyes were familiariſed to rapid ſtreams, craggy mountains, venerable foreſts, and fertile vales. Romantic objects, preſented to them on all ſides, waked the enthuſiaſm of the mind, and charmed the imagination. Greece, indeed, exhibited a moſt extraordinary ſcene; for at a period, when all ſurrounding nations were obſcured by intellectual darkneſs, and were barbarous and unpoliſhed, her ſons unfolded the full powers of their tranſcendent genius. The active intellect, not enervated by the luxuries of refinement, nor diſtracted by a multiplicity of objects, exerted itſelf with ardour, followed up many of its inventions with perſeverance, and ſoared to the moſt aſtoniſhing heights of the beautiful, and the ſublime. To other countries they were doubtleſs indebted for ſome rude and imperfect eſſays of art, ſcience, and philoſophy; but it was their peculiar glory to ſhape them into beauty, and methodiſe them into ſyſtem.

HOMER, the great Father of Epic ſong, firſt invoked the muſes, charmed the ear with the matchleſs harmony of his numbers, and preſented in his incomparable works the moſt ſtriking pictures of ancient manners, the niceſt diſcriminations of character, and the moſt beautiful proſpects of nature[c]. To the invention of a poet, he unites the feelings of a philanthropiſt. He celebrates the arts which ſuſtain and adorn human life, and breathes the moſt

[c] B. C. 907. For a glowing paſſage on the genius of Homer, the ſource of the beauties of the tragedy, painting, eloquence, and ſculpture of Greece, ſee Anacharſis, vol. i. p. 105.

lively ſentiments of piety, patriotiſm, and ſocial affection. As he deſcribes thoſe miſeries of man which ſpring from diſhonour, diſcord, and war, there is an air of deep ſolemnity diffuſed over his poems; and in this reſpect, as well as in his picture of primeval manners, there is a cloſe affinity to the books of the Old Teſtament. His genius, like the Jupiter he deſcribes, is ſupreme in majeſty, when compared with that of all other poets, and is never exerted in a manner which harmoniſes ſo perfectly with its powers, as when he ſoars to the ſublime. Among the numerous circumſtances which may be related to his praiſe, it is ſurely not the leaſt extraordinary, that the beauty and contrivance of his fables, the harmony of his numbers, and the various exertions of his genius, elevated at once by *one mighty effort* the dignity of epic poetry to ſuch a pitch of perfection, that almoſt all the merit of ſucceeding poets has conſiſted in following, without be able to overtake him.

The tragic muſe gradually improved her charms, gained the full dignity of her character, and ſpoke the genuine language of the paſſions. She animated the Greeks with that original ſpirit of dramatic excellence, which the Romans, however fond of theatrical exhibitions, found to be unattainable.

She firſt enlivened the ſcenes of ÆSCHYLUS with wild ſublimity[d], gave beauty and grace to the poliſhed and energetic SOPHOCLES, and taught EURIPIDES, to breathe his pathetic and moral

[d] B. C. 485.

ſtrains[e]. Comedy amuſed the Athenians in its rude ſtate with the coarſe licentiouſneſs and broad humour of ARISTOPHANES, and in its more pleaſing and elegant garb, charmed them with the chaſte ſentiment and diverſified characters of MENANDER[f]. To this admired writer, the greateſt ornament of the new comedy, are aſcribed no leſs than 105 plays. Only the titles of 73, and ſome ſhort fragments, have eſcaped the ravages of time. The ſtile of theſe precious relicks is pure and elegant, and the turn of thought is ſerious and ſevere. Of the vivacity of his comic powers, the artifice of his plots, or the excellence of his characters, we can form no juſter idea than from the imitations of Terence. Such was the high eſtimation in which Quintilian held his productions, as to aſſert, that he eſteemed them ſufficient to form the character of an orator, and that Menander had eclipſed all other comic writers by the dazzling ſplendour of his genius[g].

[e] B.C. 433. [f] B.C. 320.

[g] Quint. lib. x. c. 1. No compliment has ever been paid to the memory of Menander more poetical than that which is contained in the following beautiful lines by Tanaquil Faber:

Sacrum Menandri pectus
Aura jam reliquêrat,
Vagulaque animula
Elyſias penetrârat oras;
Tum dolore percitæ
Virginiaſque:
Suffuſæ lachrymis genas,
Huc & illuc curſitârunt
Perque lucos, perque montes
Perque vallium ſinus
Curſitârunt Gratiæ,
Quærentes ſibi
Queis nova ſedibus
Templa ponere poſſint.

Of the ſublime flights of PINDAR, the celebrated bard of Thebes, we can only judge by his few remaining *Odes*, which are ſaid to be far inferior to his *Hymns* unfortunately loſt. He celebrates the victors in the ſacred games of Greece, particularly Hiero of Syracuſe and Theron of Agrigentum, and rehearſes the praiſes of the cities from whence they ſprang. His diction is ſtrong, his images bold, various, and vivid, his tranſitions rapid, and his numbers irregular. Modern imitations of his manner, except a few by Horace, Dryden, and Gray, are tame and ſpiritleſs; and are no more to be compared to his grandeur of thought, and truly poetical fire, than pictures of the eruption of Ætna, which is a favourite ſubject of his deſcription, are to the *real* appearance of that mountain.

"Forth from whoſe nitrous caverns iſſuing riſe
Pure liquid fountains of tempeſtuous fire,
And veil in ruddy miſts the noon-day ſkies;
While wrapt in ſmoke the eddying flames aſpire,
Or gleaming through the night with hideous roar,
Far o'er the reddening main huge rocky fragments pour[h]."

At a much later period, THEOCRITUS deſcribed the rural manners, and romantic ſcenes, of Sicily,

[h] Weſt's Pindar,

Τας ερευγονται μεν απλα-
τυ πυρος αγνοταται
Εκ μυχῶν παγαι· ποταμοι
Δ' αμεραισιν μεν προχεοντι ροον καπνῦ
Αιθων' αλλ' εν ορφναισιν πετρας
Φοινισσα κυλινδομενα φλοξ ες βαθεῖ-
αν φερει ποντυ πλακα συν παταγῳ.

Pind. Πυθια ά Heyne, p. 188.

in his Paſtorals, which, like the roſes gliſtering with the dew drops of the morning, are freſh from the hand of nature, and ever attract us with the charms of originality.

Among the various branches of compoſition, an early attention was paid to hiſtory. HERODOTUS recorded the affairs of the ancient world, as well as ſome of the moſt glorious proofs of Grecian valour, in an eaſy and unaffected narrative[1]; and a model of authentic and accurate detail was given to mankind by the grave and impartial THUCYDIDES. Through his obſcurity a certain brightneſs ſometimes appears, which like the flaſhes of lightning in a dark night, breaks forth, and dazzles his readers. The divine Socrates allured his countrymen to vir-

[1] For a general account of the Greek hiſtorians, ſee Rollin's Arts and Sciences, vol. iii. p. 30.

Monboddo, in vol. iv. b. ii. c. 10. of his Origin and Progreſs of Language, has given a very excellent account of the ſtyle, hiſtory, and character of Herodotus. See likewiſe Warton on Pope, vol. ii. p. 385. and Athenian Letters, vol. i. p. 151. Herodotus ſeems at preſent to be again riſing into credit, and recovering from the charge brought againſt him by Richardſon, Sir W. Jones, and Hume. The truth of many of his deſcriptions is confirmed by recent obſervations. When Volney treats of the pyramids, which, including the three large ones, amount to thirty or forty, at the diſtance of only four leagues from Cairo, the dimenſions of not one of which have been accurately taken, though the ſtructures are now 2647 years old, he eſtabliſhes the opinion of their having been ſepulchral monuments; and vindicates the teſtimony of Herodotus againſt the ſcepticiſm of the moderns, who try every thing by the taſte and ideas of their contemporaries.

tue

tue by the charms of familiar converſation, and brought the moſt uſeful kind of knowledge from the ſchools of philoſophy to reform the manners of his countrymen. His labours to turn their attention from abſtruſe and frivolous ſpeculations to the amendment of their conduct, form a curious epoch in the hiſtory of the human mind[k]. To two of his moſt enlightened diſciples we are indebted for the intereſting detail of his converſations, ſentiments, and actions. Their reſpective defences or apologies, ſupport the dignity of their injured maſter's character, are ſtrongly marked by the peculiar diſpoſition of the writers, and coincide in the principal topics of vindication. PLATO, who united the fancy of the poet with the wiſdom of the moraliſt and the ſubtlety of the metaphyſician, adorned the leſſons of philoſophy with the luxuriant flowers of fancy, and applied his ardent and deep ſpeculations to trace the great author of the univerſe through the diſplay of his works, and to prove the immortal nature of the ſoul[l]. XENOPHON the ſcholar, the warrior, and the ſage, among other excellent productions, recorded the retreat of himſelf and his brave countrymen, through hoſts of barbarous foes, in a circumſtantial and animated narrative; and, combining the beauties of fiction with the traditions of hiſtory, portrayed in the elder

[k] For an excellent account of the philoſophy of Socrates, ſee Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, part ii. p. 46. Gillies, vol. i. p. 476. and vol. ii. p. 94.

[l] B. C. 400.

Cyrus the character of an accompliſhed monarch. All his works are interſperſed with the moſt engaging ſentiments of morality, and charm with the matchleſs grace of genuine ſimplicity[m]. ARISTOTLE, the moſt eminent ſcholar of Plato, did not embrace the ſublime opinions of his great maſter upon divine ſubjects, nor copy his florid ſtyle of writing[n]. His various works are remarkable for a ſimplicity and a ſeverity of compoſition. Authoritative and profound in all his opinions, he carried his indefatigable reſearches not only into natural, political, and moral ſubjects, but inveſtigated the principles of elegant literature, and applied his judgment to the critical examination of the various branches of poetry and eloquence. As a logician he reigned with deſpotic ſway over the ſchools of Europe for many ages, but by a revolution, common to human opinions, many of his works, in the preſent times, are more admired than ſtudied.

The liberty of Greece gave free ſcope to the efforts of public ſpeakers. The Athenians were gratified with liſtening to the ſpeeches of the artful Lyſias, the bold Demades, the polite and empaſſioned Hyperides, the ſevere Lycurgus, and the diffuſe and

[m] The pattern of perfect ſimplicity; every where ſmooth, harmonious, and pure; declining the figurative, the marvellous, and the myſtic: aſcending but rarely into the ſublime; nor then ſo much truſting to the colours of ſtyle, as to the intrinſic dignity of the ſentiment itſelf. Harris's Her. p. 423.

[n] Ariſtotle, B. C. 345.

learned

learned Æſchines. But the palm of eloquence, thus contended for by his countrymen, is juſtly aſſigned to the celebrated author of the Philippics. Severe and majeſtic energy is the characteriſtic of the ſentiments and language of DEMOSTHENES [o]. He was too ſerious and too dignified to aim at the ornaments of ſtyle, except ſuch as were manly and appropriate; he was too ardent to be diffuſe, and too eager for action to waſte his time upon the circuitous arts of mild perſuaſion. It was his great object to aſtoniſh by unexpected flaſhes of thought, to terrify by lively images of danger, and to convince by the moſt impreſſive, and moſt concluſive arguments. While he rouſed his ſlothful and procraſtinating countrymen to check the advances, and revenge the aggreſſions, of Philip of Macedon, who was both a crafty and powerful enemy; his orations equally proved the degeneracy of their manners, and the ſublimity of his own genius. And what muſt have been the commanding power of his *delivery*, to which even Æſchines, his great and able rival, according to his own candid acknowledgment, could not do juſtice! The energy of his manner, the modulation of his voice, and dignity of his action, correſponded with the force and the compaſs of his reaſoning, and combined to form the orator, to whom is deſervedly aſſigned the foremoſt place in the records of eloquence [p].

To

[o] Demoſthenes, B. C. 339.

[p] "The Roman orator is too florid and rhetorical, his figures are too ſtriking and palpable, the diviſions of his diſcourſe are drawn chiefly from the rules of the ſchools. The manner of Demoſthenes

To the Greeks we owe the improvement, if not the invention of grammar, logic, criticiſm, metaphyſics, muſic, geometry, medicine, and aſtronomy; and many of the terms peculiar to each of theſe arts and ſciences, clearly point out the country from which we have derived them. The refined invention of builders embelliſhed their cities with thoſe regular, well-proportioned, and elegant ſpecimens of architecture, which diſplayed the various forms of the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders. Athens was filled with temples, theatres, porticos, and veſtibules, of matchleſs ſymmetry and grandeur; and the pencils of Zeuxis, Parrhaſius, and Polygnotus, and the chiſels of Alcamenes, Phideas, and Polycletus, decorated them with the moſt beautiful pictures, buſts, and ſtatues. The religion of the Greeks was peculiarly favourable to the exertions of artiſts, and their ſacrifices, aſſemblies, and proceſſions, were equally well adapted to painting, bas-relief, and ſculpture. Theſe artiſts animated the Parian marble, and gave life and paſſion to the

Demoſthenes is more chaſte than that of Cicero. Could it be copied, its ſucceſs would be infallible over a modern aſſembly. It is rapid harmony exactly adjuſted to the ſenſe: it is vehement reaſoning, without any appearance of art: it is diſdain, boldneſs, anger, and freedom, involved in a continued ſtream of argument: and of all human productions, the orations of Demoſthenes preſent to us the models, which approach the neareſt to perfection." Hume's Eſſays, vol. i. p. 109. Travels of Anacharſis, vol. ii. p. 116. The character of his genius, vol. v. p. 184. Leland's Preface to his Tranſlation of Demoſthenes, 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 4th Philippic, and 1ſt, 2d, and 3d, Olynthiac Orations.

glowing

glowing canvaſs. The continual view of the human body in the baths, and at the public games, familiariſed the artiſts to the contemplation of forms the moſt elegant, and attitudes the moſt graceful. They copied the faireſt appearances of nature, and by combining the ſcattered beauties of various perſons in one ſubject, gave no very inadequate repreſentation of that ideal excellence, which filled their glowing imaginations. Theirs likewiſe was that exquiſite judgment, the companion of genius, which inſtantly ſelecting from art or nature whatever was excellent, gave to their works an irreſiſtible charm. Such indeed was the diffuſion of taſte, that even the common people, by conſtantly ſurveying the fineſt ſpecimens of painting and ſculpture, and hearing the moſt finiſhed compoſitions recited in the theatres, and public aſſemblies, became qualified to appreciate, with correct judgment, the various productions of their countrymen.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

The Subject continued.

AFTER ſuch a digreſſion as the foregoing, which, it may be preſumed, can require no apology, as the arts and literature of the Greeks, in their meridian glory, are the ſubjects of it; we unite the broken thread of hiſtory by remarking, that the memorable war of Peloponneſus derived its origin from the ambition of the Athenians, who were deſirous of humbling the pride of Sparta, and making their own city the centre of Grecian dominion[a]. As the Athenians poſſeſſed only a territory of 86 ſquare leagues, while that of the Spartans conſiſted of 250, they were compelled to make the moſt vigorous exertions, to counterbalance, by every means, the ſuperior reſources of their rivals. To the diſgrace of a people ſo refined and civilized, this war was carried on with all the ferocity of Barbarians, and preſented a wide ſcene of calamity and diſtreſs, of cabal and civil diſcord, of miſconduct and cruelty. Athens was deſolated by a peſtilential fever, far more deſtructive than the ſword of the enemy, yet it tended not to fix the volatile temper of her citizens upon any meaſures of peace[b]. The capricious Alcibiades

[a] B. C. 431.

[b] De Pauw, vol. i. p. 115. Thucydides, lib. ii. chap. 47, 48, &c. Edit. Bipont. tom. ii. p. 71.

"This

Alcibiades held forth the poſſeſſion of Sicily as a deſirable object of conqueſt. To achieve this enterpriſe, the moſt ſplendid and powerful fleet that ever left the harbour of Athens, ſailed for the bay of Syracuſe under his command [c]. Becoming a prey to the intrigues of faction, he abandoned the expedition, and by flight ſhunned the fate to which he was ſentenced. By his advice the Spartans reinforced the Syracuſians, and the ſtorm of their united vengeance fell upon the Athenians; not a ſingle ſhip returned home, and a few only of the great numbers, who compoſed their army and navy, eſcaped death or captivity. For a ſtriking detail of theſe events, we are indebted to Thucydides, who, holding the rank of a commander in the early part of the war, was himſelf an eye-witneſs of many of the tranſactions which he has related. To his nervous deſcription of facts, he has added what may be eſteemed no imperfect ſpecimens of

. "This diſeaſe afflicted the Athenians during the heat of ſummer. It is conſidered by Haller, and other modern phyſicians, as nothing more than a contagious fever. To ſeek in Ethiopia the origin of a diſorder, ſo evidently ariſing from multitudes of men heaped and preſſed together, would be abſurd; eſpecially as its influence did not extend beyond the walls of Athens, and was totally unknown in every other part of Greece." De Pauw, vol. i. p. 121.

The poets have ſhewn their approbation of this affecting account of the plague of Athens, by adopting many of its images into ſimilar deſcriptions. Lucretius, book vi. ver. 1136, &c. Virgil in the third Georgic, ver. 478. and Æneid iii. ver. 137. and Ovid and Statius have all followed Thucydides.

[c] Thucydides, lib. vi. chap. 19, 20, 22.

the abilities diſplayed by the greateſt orators of his time, and particularly by Pericles, when he pronounced a funeral oration upon the ſoldiers who had fallen in the ſervice of their country[d].

The irreſiſtible force of thunder, and the vivid flaſhes of lightning, were the figurative alluſions uſed to convey ideas of the eloquence of Pericles. His talents raiſed him to the ſole adminiſtration of pubic affairs, and he guided at his ſovereign diſpoſal a capricious populace for fifteen years[e]. To the people he looked for diſtinctions and honours, and to them he ſacrificed the principles of the ancient conſtitution. The engine of his popularity was corruption. With the public money, originally deſtined for the defence of Attica in caſe of invaſion, he rewarded his countrymen for attending the public aſſemblies, and enabled every one of them, by the ſanction of an expreſs law, to receive a gratuity for reſorting to their favourite diverſions of the theatre. His fame would reſt upon a very weak foundation, if it was only ſupported by the ſucceſs of his adminiſtration, in bending the inclinations of his citizens to his own political plans, and ſacrificing their independence to his ambition.

But fortunately for his reputation he has the teſtimony of the moſt unbiaſſed men in his favour;

[d] Thucydides, lib. ii. c. 22. lib. ii. c. 35.
[e] B. C. 430.

for,

for, from the high encomium of Socrates, the anecdotes of Plutarch, and the candid and honourable teſtimony of Thucydides, who was baniſhed at his inſtigation, we may juſtly conclude that he was the patron of the arts; that as a public ſpeaker he was moſt eloquent; that as a ſtateſman, his abilities were conſummate; and that in the midſt of the cruelty and venality of his countrymen, he diſdained the acquſition of wealth, and abhorred the practice of revenge.

Twenty-ſeven years put a period to the war of Peloponneſus, and extinguiſhed the glory of the Athenians. The burning of their fleet, and the demolition of thoſe walls of the city, the expence of which had been defrayed by the ſpoils and treaſures of the Perſians, atteſted the triumph of Lyſander, the ambitious, but uncorrupt general of the Spartans. Thraſybulus, with a ſmall band of friends, effected the expulſion of the thirty tyrants, and received an olive crown as the ſole reward of this heroic action. Cimon vindicated the honour of his diſgraced country, and, after a ſignal defeat of the Lacedemonian navy, re-eſtabliſhed its ancient government. While Athens was again riſing to glory and diſtinction, the Thebans, under the conduct of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, whoſe ſocial virtues and military talents did equal honour to their illuſtrious characters, checked the power of Sparta; and the battle of Leuctra rewarded their valour with complete ſucceſs. But the ſun of Theban greatneſs ſet at the battle of Mantinea, where Epaminondas

minondas expired in the arms of victory[f]. Nor did Athens long enjoy the revival of her power; for Philip of Macedon, equally diſtinguiſhed by the profligacy of his conduct, and the greatneſs of his ambition, obtained the ſovereignty of Greece, no leſs by intrigues and corruption, than by his proweſs in the field. The victory of Chæronea extinguiſhed the independence of the Grecian ſtates, and the ſucceeding events laid the foundation of a new empire[g].

The moſt remarkable changes by ſlow degrees took place in the manners of the Athenians, and prepared the way for the introduction of the Macedonian, and afterwards of the Roman power. When, as Xenophon remarked, it was cuſtomary to adorn the feaſts of Attica with the coſtly viands of Sicily and Aſia Minor, the luxury of repaſts became fatal to the manners of the people. Private extravagance kept pace with public profuſion; inſtead of the bread, herbs, and ſimple fare, recommended by the laws of Solon, the Athenians availed themſelves of their extenſive commerce to import the dainties of diſtant coaſts, which were ſerved up with all the refinements of culinary art. In ſummer, the delicious wines of Cyprus were cooled with ſnow; and in winter, garlands of flowers, procured at great

[f] A fine ſketch of the character of Epaminondas is given in the Travels of Anacharſis, v. ii. p. 80. And one not leſs appropriate occurs in Sir Walter Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World, b. iii. p. 147. Cicero preferred him to all the Grecian heroes — "Epaminondas princeps meo Judicio Græciæ." [g] B. C. 338.

expence,

expence, adorned the tables, and encircled the heads of this luxuriant people. The martial ſongs of their anceſtors became unfaſhionable; and paraſites, dancers, and buffoons, crowded their ſumptuous feaſts. An exceſſive fondneſs for horſes, and the purſuits of the chace exhauſted the finances of the youths, who were vitiated by their intercourſe with harlots, or corrupted by the licentious philoſophy of ſophiſts. Diſdaining to cultivate the virtues of their progenitors, and blind to the encroachments of politic and enterpriſing enemies, they gave a looſe to luxury, and licentiouſneſs. The public revenues, which had been formerly expended in the equipment of fleets and armies, were laviſhed upon theatrical exhibitions, games, and feſtivals. Frivolous curioſity and tame irreſolution became the characteriſtics of a people, whom no ſenſe of danger or ſhame could rouſe to martial exertions, even when their enemies were ſtripping them of their moſt valuable territories, and advancing with rapid ſteps to Athens itſelf.

The death of Philip[h] induced the Athenians to throw off the Macedonian yoke. The alacrity of his renowned ſucceſſor was ſoon diſplayed in ſubduing, and his clemency in pardoning, their defection. The exploits of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who undertook his expedition againſt Darius with a view to avenge the wrongs of Greece, form an intereſting portion of this period of hiſtory.

[h] B. C. 335.

Although the Greeks were deprived during his reign of their independence, yet they were left at full liberty to follow the dictates of their own inclinations, with reſpect to the cultivation of the arts, and even in martial affairs they ſhared the triumphs of the Conqueror of the Eaſt.

This great and accompliſhed Hero was himſelf diſtinguiſhed by a love of the arts and of literature: he patronized Lyſippus the moſt eminent ſtatuary, and Apelles the greateſt painter of his age; and he preſerved as his moſt invaluable treaſure, a copy of his favourite Homer, in a rich caſket found among the ſpoils of Darius. To the moſt extraordinary talents he united an ardent and uncontroulable temper, headſtrong paſſions, and an unquenchable thirſt for dominion. Although his conduct was tarniſhed with ſome atrocious ſallies of rage and cruelty, yet enlightened by the precepts of Ariſtotle, to whoſe care his father Philip entruſted the important charge of his education, after paying that eminent philoſopher the moſt diſtinguiſhing compliment a tutor ever received, he improved his extenſive conqueſts to the general benefit of mankind. He built many cities in the moſt convenient ſituations, and introduced the civilization of Greece into barbarous countries. His life exhibited many ſplendid examples of clemency, humanity, and generoſity, even amid the fervour of youth, and the impetuoſity of victory. His race of glory was indeed ſhort; but he outſtripped all his competitors in his enterpriſes, as well

well as in his ſucceſs. Even after making full allowances for the fictions and exaggerations of his flattering hiſtorians, the moſt authentic accounts of his life are ſufficient to prove, if we recollect the brilliancy of his wit, his perſonal ſtrength and courage, his talents for war, the vaſt elevation of his mind, and the extent of his rapid conqueſts, that he was one of the moſt extraordinary perſonages, whoſe hiſtory ſtands recorded in the annals of the world[i].

Some time after his death the Athenians ſolicited the protection of the Romans to ſhelter them from the oppreſſion of Philip, the ſecond of that name, King of Macedon[k]. Governed in appearance by their own laws and magiſtrates, they were obliged to ſhow the moſt obſequious attention to their protectors, in order to avoid being conſidered as the ungrateful abettors of rebellion and tumult.—The deciſions for war or peace, the exactions of taxes, and all political regulations, were no longer left to their determination, but depended upon the decrees of the Roman ſenate. The ſpirit of the people however was bent to obedience; and that ſubmiſſion to foreign command, which in the days of Miltiades, or a Cimon, would have been regarded as worſe than death, was conſidered by the contemporaries of Polybius as an eaſy, and even a gratifying homage. Greece could however

[i] For a fine character of Alexander the Great, which confirms the propriety of my ſtatement, ſee Monteſquieu, liv. x. c. 14.

[k] B. C. 190.

ſtill claim the glorious ſuperiority of being the Miſtreſs of the arts, and of teaching them to the unpoliſhed conquerors of the world. The Romans were gradually refined by the people they had ſubdued; and the captive Greeks introduced taſte, elegance, and literature among the rough warriors of Latium[l].

In the time of the civil wars of Rome[m], the Athenians, actuated by their ancient love of liberty, eſpouſed the cauſe of Pompey, and afterwards of Brutus and Caſſius; and they erected ſtatues of theſe illuſtrious patriots near thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who had ſlain the tyrant Hipparchus. Unfortunate upon both occaſions in the part they took, they experienced the clemency both of Julius and of Auguſtus Cæſar. Athens was long celebrated as the abode of philoſophy, and the ſeat of learning. Here Horace completed his education, and to this place the great Roman Orator ſent his ſon to be inſtructed by Cratippus; and here likewiſe Pomponius, his accompliſhed and virtuous friend, from his reſidence in the country, and his proficiency in its literature, obtained the honourable appellation of *Atticus*.

That this place continued to be the ſeat of philoſophy at a ſubſequent period, we learn from the eloquent addreſs of St. Paul, ſo well adapted to

[l] Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agreſti Latio——— Horat. Epiſt. 2.

[m] B. C. 50.

the

the favourite purſuits and opinions of its inhabitants [a]. And that their ſuperſtitious diſpoſition ſtill remained, was evident from their dedication of an altar to the "Unknown God." They were influenced by the ſame eager purſuit of novelty, which had marked their character in the time of Demoſthenes; and their taſte for the works of the poets was ſtill flouriſhing and correct. Under the mild empire of Trajan [o], they retained their fondneſs for the precious monuments of ſculpture, as Pliny mentions, that in his time Athens was adorned with no leſs than three thouſand ſtatues. They found in Adrian a generous benefactor; he beſtowed upon them new privileges; and the city under his auſpicious influence reflected a faint ray of her former glory. It long continued to be the favourite abode of philoſophers; and when Syneſius of Alexandria, an elegant writer of the fifth century, viſited it, he remarked, that the celebrated colonade or porch, from which the Stoic philoſophers had taken their name, had been ſtripped of its elegant pictures, and was deſerted by the followers of Zeno.

Alaric, the ſavage plunderer of Italy, extended his conqueſts to Greece, and marked his ſteps by ruin and devaſtation [p]. He paſſed the ſtraights of Thermopylæ, from which the Greeks, unmindful, or perhaps ignorant of the diſaſter of Xerxes, and the glory of Leonidas, retired as he advanced.

[a] Acts xviii. Demoſthenis Philip. 1.
[o] A. C. 114. [p] A. C. 410.

As ſoon as the voice of his herald was heard at Athens, the deſcendants of thoſe heroes, who had conquered at Marathon and Salamis, opened their gates. What other proof need be mentioned of the degeneracy of the times? In the fourteenth century, Greece yielded to the victorious arms of Mahomet the ſecond, and continues in the poſſeſſion of the Turks to this day.

I. *The preſent State of Greece.*

The ravages of ſucceſſive conquerors have aſſiſted the ſlow but certain hand of time in haſtening the deſtruction of ancient Athens. Ever ſince the Turks have had the country in their poſſeſſion, they have exerted a wanton induſtry, and ſhown the natural hoſtility of ignorance to taſte, by mutilating ſtatues, demoliſhing temples, and defacing the elegant forms of ſculpture. The curious traveller, however, has ſtill ſufficient ſcope for the indulgence of his pleaſing melancholy, and for giving way to thoſe mixed ſenſations of ſorrow and delight, for which no language can ſupply an adequate name. Such are his feelings when his imagination preſents to him the Genius of ancient Greece, bound in the iron fetters of deſpotiſm, reclining his head amidſt broken walls and proſtrate columns, while liberty, the muſes, and the arts, are ſpeeding their flight from theſe unhappy regions. On an actual ſurvey of the ruins of Athens, the traveller may be ſurpriſed that the ſight of ſuch objects did not open the eyes of the

barbarian conquerors to admire the enchanting beauties of architecture. Every colonnade, portico, and pillar he beholds, nay, every ſtep he takes, cannot fail to carry back his fancy, without any violent effort to diſtant periods, and lead him to combine remote events with preſent appearances. On the abrupt and craggy rock of the Acropolis was erected the magnificent temple of Minerva, famed for the golden ſtatue, which was one of the choiceſt productions of Phidias. It is now imperfectly repreſented only by huge maſſes of marble. From this ſpot may be diſtinctly ſeen, when the ſun gilds the horizon with his evening rays, the white column erected to Theſeus after the battle of Salamis. The Piræus, the renowned port of Athens, to which the triumphant fleet of Themiſtocles returned laden with the ſpoils of the Perſians, is now diſtinguiſhed only by the traces of a ſmall theatre, and a monaſtery of mean architecture. The ruins of temples and theatres, intermixed with flat-roofed cottages, and marble tablets inſcribed with characters, which neither the ignorant Turks nor the modern Greeks can decipher, are melancholy memorials of a more noble and a more refined people. The marble fragments found among the ruins of the ſchools atteſt the diligence of the ancient philoſophers, who inſcribed upon them the names of their ſcholars. The odeum of Pericles, which once reſounded with the notes of the lyre, and the ſublime ſtrains of the choral ſong, can at preſent be traced only by its loſty and broken wall, and is deformed by the

rude outwork of a Turkiſh caſtle[q]. The ſhores of Attica are waſte and deſolate; few villages are to be ſeen from Eleuſis to the promontory of Sunium, and thence even to the plains of Marathon. The eye of the inquiſitive traveller diſcerns nothing but ſcatterered ruins along a coaſt of eighty miles in extent. Nature herſelf ſeems, in ſome reſpects, to ſympathize with the gloomy deſolation of the place; for the once full and flowing Iliſſus, on whoſe margin Socrates reclined to converſe with his diſciple Phedrus, is now almoſt dried up, and its banks, once ſhaded with lofty and waving planes, are now bare and unfruitful.

Every man of claſſical taſte feels a melancholy pleaſure, in forming this contraſt, which he is enabled to make in conſequence of the diligent reſearches of Wheeler, Spon, and Chandler. But he may receive a more lively ſatisfaction from the reſearches of Stuart, who from fragments of buildings and broken pillars has traced ſuch plans and elevations of the original buildings, and explained them ſo clearly in his three ſplendid and coſtly volumes, as to give a very expreſſive repreſentation of the city in its ancient ſtate of elegance and grandeur.

However the inhabitants of Athens are depreſſed by their haughty tyrants, they ſtill retain marks of their original character. They poſſeſs much of that quickneſs of apprehenſion, vivacity

[q] Chandler's Travels, p. 78, 85, &c.

of

of temper, and urbanity of manners, which diſtinguiſhed their anceſtors[r]. The native character of the people long continues like the peculiarity of the ſoil, which is the ſame as it was of old; Attica is ſtill famed for olives, grapes, and figs; and the neighbouring ſlopes of Hymettus ſtill abound with bees, which produce moſt delicious honey. But a long ſtate of ſervitude and ſuperſtition has degraded the native powers of their minds; and the recollection or the fear of blows and indignities,

[r] Eaton's Survey, p. 334, &c. Chandler, p. 117, 120. Stuart's Athens. "Ils ont une politeſſe d'eſprit naturelle, et beaucoup d'adreſſe dans toutes les affaires qu'ils entreprennent." Spon, vol. ii. p. 76, 92. Wheler, p. 356.

From an animated vindication of the character of his countrymen from the charge of ſtupidity and want of ſpirit, ſee the eloquent addreſs of the learned Dr. Coray in the Diſcours Prélimiaire to his Tranſlation of Hippocrates. The concluſion of it is ſo animated, and written ſo much in the ſpirit of a countryman of Homer, that I cannot withhold from my Reader the pleaſure of peruſing it.

"Des deſpotes tranſplantés de l'ancienne Rome, après avoir par une adminiſtration auſſi ſtupide que tyrannique relâché tous les reſſorts de la ſociété, entravé l'influence du plus beau des climats, ſouillé, ébranlé leur trône par les crimes les plus affreux, ont fini par vous livrer à des tyrans, encore plus ſtupides et plus féroces. Ce ſont eux qui ont forgé des chaines que vous portez, nation malheureuſe, mais reſpectable dans votre malheur! Ce ſera vous qui les briſerez. En attendant cet heureux moment, qui ſans doute n'eſt pas éloigné, vous pouvez avec confiance adreſſer à vos tyrans ce qu'un de nos poetes fait dire à la vigne rongée par un animal dévaſtateur,

Κ᾽ με φαγῃς επι ῥιζαν, ὁμως ετι καρποφορησω,
Ὁσσον επισπεισαι σοι, τραγε, θυομενῳ" P. 180.

too

too often inflicted by their tyrants, makes them ſtoop to the artifices of cunning and diſſimulation. The Albanians, a hardy and courageous race, who keep flocks upon the purple declivities of Hymettus and Citheron, or gather olives on the green banks of the Cephiſus, are deſcended from the Spartans. Their patience of fatigue, and their deſperate bravery, which has been ſometimes rouſed by extreme oppreſſion, prove the juſtneſs of their pretenſions to ſuch an origin. When we obſerve that the ſparks of original genius and courage are ſtill extant among this people, it muſt excite a wiſh, that captives ſo undeſerving and unfortunate could be aſſiſted to break their chains. Far from being admitted to any privileges whatever, which can bring them upon an equality with their maſters, they are kept in the moſt abject ſervitude, and continue in the ſame miſerable ſtate as when they were firſt conquered. They retain the ſame rights they ever had to ſhake off the Turkiſh yoke, and to aſſert their claims to independence. The frequent wars between the Ruſſians and the Turks might afford them the glorious opportunity of emancipation; and no enterpriſe could be more worthy of the Emperor who now fills the throne of Ruſſia, than to aſſiſt their courageous efforts in a manner more vigorous and effectual, than was done in the late war between Catherine the great and the Turks. The fate of the brave inhabitants of Poland extinguiſhes the hope of reſtoration to complete independence from that quarter:

quarter: but the government of Peterſburgh would doubtleſs be more tolerable than that of the Porte, if we conſider the different ſpirit of its religious creed, and its more advanced ſtate of civilization. If the modern Greeks could be placed in ſo advantageous a ſituation, the prediction of Peter the Great might be verified; and the arts, which have civilized northern Europe, might return, after having taken an extenſive circuit, to enlighten and adorn the country of their birth.

"I cannot better compare the tranſmigration of ſcience than to the circulation of blood in the human body; and I foreſee that they will one time or other forſake England, France, and Germany, and ſettle among us for many ages, to return again into Greece, their firſt abode*."

When we recal the days of Grecian glory, during which the arts of peace and war roſe to the greateſt height,—when patriots, ſtateſmen, philoſophers, poets, and artiſts, were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for virtue, wiſdom, and elegance, we cannot help indulging a wiſh, that the inhabitants of the ſame delightful and intereſting regions could be allowed to give full ſcope to their original genius, and that the deſcendants of an Ariſtides, an Ageſilaus, a Socrates, and a Leonidas, could

* From the Speech of the Czar Peter, Memoirs of Literature, vol. i. p. 361.

not

not only be permitted to enjoy the inheritance of their illuſtrious anceſtors, without extortion and without ſlavery, but be encouraged to emulate their fame.

For the aſſiſtance of the memory in chronological arrangements, we may diſtinguiſh the remarkable periods of Grecian hiſtory by *four* memorable epochs. The firſt is the age of *Solon*, or the eſtabliſhment of the laws, B. C. 594; the ſecond is the age of *Ariſtides*, or of martial glory, B. C. 480; the third of *Pericles*, or of luxury and the arts, B. C. 430; and the fourth that of *Mahomet* II. or complete degradation, A. C. 1453.

Enough may be collected from the foregoing detail to aſcertain "that the commonwealths of Greece, while they maintained their liberty, were the moſt heroic confederacy that ever exiſted. They were the politeſt, the braveſt, and the wiſeſt of men. In the ſhort ſpace of a little more than a century, they became ſuch ſtateſmen, warriors, orators, hiſtorians, phyſicians, poets, critics, painters, ſculptors, architects, and laſt of all philoſophers, that one can hardly help conſidering that *golden period* as a providential event in honour of human nature, to ſhow to what perfection the ſpecies might aſcend[t]."

On looking back to thoſe times, when the Greeks

[t] Harris's Hermes.

carried

carried their various inventions and improvements to ſuch perfection, we cannot fail to acknowledge the obligations, which ancient Rome and modern Europe have been under to them. Greece has been the inſtructreſs of the civilized world. To her indeed all poliſhed nations are deeply indebted for holding out the light of genius, philoſophy, and taſte, to guide their ſteps in the cultivation of the moral and intellectual powers of the mind.

Emulation was the great incentive to exertion in every branch of art, and every ſcene of action. All attempts were carried to the utmoſt pitch of attainable perfection. The trophies of Miltiades did not ſuffer Themiſtocles to ſleep; and the applauſe beſtowed upon Herodotus at the Olympic games ſtimulated Thucydides to compoſe his immortal work. The efforts of genius are not confined to ſervile imitation, for genius may ſtrike into innumerable paths. The Greeks have ſhewn us that excellence even of the higheſt order is attainable; and it remains for us, if we poſſeſs any capacity, if we are animated by ambition, and impelled by a ſpirit of enterpriſe like theirs, to make repeated and unremitting exertions, until our endeavours terminate as theirs have done, in new and uſeful diſcoveries, and improvements in the various branches of art, ſcience, and literature.

The hiſtory we have been conſidering cannot fail to ſuggeſt to the Engliſh reader various points of reſemblance to the ſtate and circumſtances of

his own country. The ſtruggles for power, and the intrigues of parties and popular leaders, the ardent love of liberty, and high pretenſions to domination, occaſionally ſinking into ſubſerviency, and then again riſing from tame acquieſcence to new claims, new jealouſies, the moſt active exertions of power, and the moſt ſtrenuous vindication of rights;—the tendencies of the ſtate to great acceſſion of empire, and the obſtacles to a continuance of diſtant and widely ſpread dominion;—the gradual increaſe of power and opulence from ſources of commerce; the conſequent ſpirit of diſſipation, and prevalence of luxury, tending to diſſolve the very ſtrength and proſperity they gave birth to—theſe circumſtances, connected with the political career of a free government, and the civil concerns of a commercial and maritime country, are no where more fully diſplayed than in the hiſtory of the republic of Athens.

The cloſer and more exact reſemblance between *Attica* and *Great Britain* is diſcernible in our diligent cultivation of the arts and ſciences, in the eloquence of our public ſpeakers, the bravery of our ſailors, and the ſkill and valour of our admirals and generals. While we are eager to eſtabliſh this reſemblance, ſo flattering to our national pride; and whilſt our Iſland reflects the image of the literature, architecture, ſculpture, and taſte, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the Greeks; and we ſurpaſs them in navigation, commerce, ſcience,

and

and philoſophy; let us be extremely careful, that our characters and manners have no mixture of the factious ſpirit, levity, corruption, and degeneracy, which marked the decline of their glory; but that we emulate the virtue, valour, patriotiſm, and refinement of their GREATEST MEN, and PUREST TIMES.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

The Hiſtory of Rome.

WITH reſpect to the eminent character and the political importance of the Romans, their hiſtory is more ſplendid than that of any other country. Like the ſculptured column of Trajan, it is a monument of triumphs. It is more uniform than that of Greece, diſplays greater viciſſitudes of affairs, and records the lives of an equal, if not a greater number of illuſtrious warriors and ſtateſmen. The Romans eſtabliſhed their empire not ſo much by the ſmiles of fortune, as by the perſevering efforts of wiſdom and valour. They were extraordinary both in the nobleneſs and in the debaſement of their character; for in their progreſs to dominion, they exerciſed virtues which far exceeded, and in the decline of their empire, they were diſgraced with vices, which fell much below the common ſtandard of human nature.

The proſpect of Rome, at the period of its greateſt power, cannot fail to impreſs our minds with aſtoniſhment. At the time when the virtuous and warlike TRAJAN filled the imperial throne, the Romans had reached the ſummit of dominion and magnificence. The metropolis of the

the empire and its ſuburbs extending beyond the ſeven celebrated hills, were bounded by a circumference of fifty miles. More populous than Babylon, Nineveh, or Thebes, or any capital of modern Europe, the number of its inhabitants amounted to twelve hundred thouſand[u]. It abounded with manſions remarkable for height and ſpaciouſneſs; it was interſperſed with gardens and groves, and was decorated with every edifice, which could contribute either to the uſe or ornament of individuals, or of the public. Fountains, baths, aqueducts, bridges, markets, obeliſks, ſquares, courts of juſtice, porticos, palaces, amphitheatres, and temples, filled the auguſt proſpect. The temple of Ops was enriched with the gold of ſubdued monarchs; the roſtra were decked with the naval ſpoils of a long ſucceſſion of ages; and upon the lofty arches were deſcribed in the moſt exquiſite ſculpture, the various victories and ſplendid triumphs of the conquerors of the world. Among the public buildings were more particularly obſerved by the aſtoniſhed ſpectator, the elegant forum of Trajan, the ample theatres of Marcellus and Pompey, the temple of Neptune, the

[u] Upon the ſubject of the extent and the population of Rome there is a very excellent note in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. ii. p. 473. 4to. edit. He ſtates at large the data, upon which his calculation of the inhabitants proceeds. There is a curious diſſertation upon this ſubject in the Memoires de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxx. p. 191. by D'Anville. The only capital in the known world more populous than ancient Rome is Pekin in China, which Du Halde reckons at three millions.

wide circumference of the Circus Maximus, the Capitol rearing its majeſtic ſtructures above the Tarpeian Rock; the imperial Palace, from the magnificent portico of which the Emperor could overlook the whole city; the temple of Apollo, diſtinguiſhed by the coloſſal ſtatue of that deity, erected upon the Palatine Hill in the centre of the city; and the dome of the ſublime Pantheon, eminent for its incomparable ſymmetry, and regular proportions. All theſe buildings preſented the ſolid ſtyle of the Tuſcan, or the more elegant orders of Grecian architecture, and were adorned with the moſt beautiful productions of painting and ſculpture. Above theſe ſtately edifices aroſe a lofty pillar of white marble, exhibiting, in the moſt lively images of ſculpture, the Dacian victories of Trajan, whoſe coloſſal figure crowned the ſummit. The extent, the variety, and the grandeur of theſe buildings proved, that this city was the reſidence of the maſters of the world; as the ingenuity, the productions, the arts, and the riches of all countries conſpired to aggrandize and embelliſh it.

Twenty thouſand ſelect troops, either diſtinguiſhed as regular patroles, or prætorian cohorts, watched both night and day over the ſecurity of this populous and ſpacious city. To this ſeat of ſupreme power ambaſſadors were ſent from the moſt remote regions, to lay the diadems of Kings at the feet of the Emperor. From hence marched the proconſuls, lieutenants, and prætors, ſurrounded by numerous trains of attendants, and

eſcorted by cohorts of foot and ſquadrons of horſe, to take the command of their reſpective provinces. They travelled over ſtraight and ſpacious roads, which interſected the empire in every direction, and which were ſo ſolid and durable, as to remain in many places unimpaired by the ravages of time, after the lapſe of more than ſeventeen centuries *. The ready communication between one province and another was equally ſecured by ſea and by land; and the fleets, which anchored in the port of Oſtia, were prepared to carry the imperial arms to the moſt diſtant coaſts. Upon the banks of great rivers, ſuch as the Rhine, the Danube, and the Po, in the vicinity of populous cities, or on the frontiers of hoſtile nations, were ſtationed the camps of the legions. At the firſt alarm of inſurrection they were ready to take the field; no plot of the enemy could eſcape their vigilance, and no force was ſufficient to repel their formidable onſet. Many of the temperate and fertile countries, which now compoſe the moſt powerful kingdoms of Europe, were enrolled in the regiſter of tributary ſtates. The imperial eagle ſtretched her wings over the faireſt portions of the ancient world. The empire was extended more than two thouſand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus in Britain, and the northern limits of Dacia, to Mount Atlas in the weſt of Africa, and reached in length more than three thouſand miles, from

* Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii. p. 250. Gibbon, vol. i. p. 51. Lumiſden, p. 86. Horſley's Britannia Romana, p. 520.

the Weſtern Ocean to the Euphrates. It was ſuppoſed to contain above ſixteen hundred thouſand ſquare miles, for the moſt part of fertile and well-cultivated land. It included Spain and Portugal, Gaul and Britain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Tranſylvania, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, the provinces of Aſia Minor, Pontus, Bithynia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Paleſtine, Egypt, Mauritania, and Dacia. Moſt of theſe countries abounded with large and opulent cities, every one of which atteſted the progreſs and influence of the arts, as well as the dominion of the Romans, by the grandeur and variety of its public works. The population of the empire was equal to its extent, as it was reputed to contain not leſs than one hundred and twenty millions of ſubjects, a number far greater than was ever, either before or after that period, united under one European government.

If we conſider the Modern World with reference to the Roman empire, even the dominions of the great Mogul, or the more extenſive territories of the Grand Signior, far as they are ſpread in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, ſink in compariſon with it. Ruſſia in point of comparative population is a deſert; and China, with its myriads of inhabitants, with reſpect to martial energy, is a nation of effeminate ſlaves.

Such is the ſublime proſpect of the metropolis, the naval and military force, and the extenſive and formidable ſovereignty of ancient Rome in the

meridian of her glory. A ſurvey ſo remarkable for the variety and the ſplendour of its objects, is the moſt diſtinguiſhed, which hiſtory has preſented to the contemplation of man. It will appear the more extraordinary, if we contraſt the empire ſo extenſive and flouriſhing under Trajan, with its parent ſtate, conſiſting of a ſmall colony of ſhepherds and adventurers, originally planted by Romulus upon the banks of the Tiber, and forming one of forty-ſeven independent cantons, which altogether occupied a ſpace of only fifty miles[y].

By comparing the moſt exalted ſtate of Rome with its origin, we are naturally led to inquire into the cauſes of its grandeur. From conſidering its fall from ſuch an elevation of power, when the Imperial city was taken by the Goths, we are naturally led to inveſtigate the cauſes of its decline. Theſe inquiries will form the ſubjects of this and the following chapter.

The leading cauſes of the greatneſs of the Roman power may be reſolved,

I. into the peculiar conſtitution of the government.
II. The rigid cultivation of the arts of war.
III. The ſtrong attachment to religion.
IV. The active ſpirit of patriotiſm.

Theſe cauſes operating upon the opinions and

[y] B.C. 753. Ferguſon's Roman Republic, c. i.

determining the conduct of a hardy, active, and courageous people, conſpired to raiſe them to the ſummit of empire.

I. If the Romans had ſubmitted without reluctance to the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus, and the outrages committed by his family, their ſpirit would have been completely broken, and their city would probably have remained without diſtinction among the ſmall ſtates of Italy. The ſenate ſuffered Tarquin to aſſume the royal authority, without the ceremonies of a legal election, or the uſual approbation of the people. Repeated ſufferings, however, opened their eyes to the horrors of deſpotiſm; they drove the tyrant from his throne, and adopted a conſular form of government. From the moment that Brutus raiſed the dagger, ſtreaming with the blood of Lucretia, and vowed the expulſion of Tarquin, the Romans were deſtined to be the conquerors of the world [z].

We need not, therefore, trace the government to a more remote period, than to the abolition of regal power. From that era the real character of the people began to be developed, and a new ſpring was given to their general exertions. They felt the neceſſity of governors, laws, and diſcipline, but of ſuch governors, laws, and diſcipline, as were favourable to the growth of their darling paſſions—the love of freedom, independence, and dominion.

[z] B.C. 509. Liv. lib. i. ſect. 59.

The

The executive and legiſlative branches of their *Conſtitution* conſiſted of the conſuls, the ſenate, and the aſſembly of the people. The *Conſuls* were at once the prime miniſters of the republic, and the generals of the armies. They preſided over the ſenate, and convened and diſmiſſed it at pleaſure. The *Senate* was a deliberative council of ſtate, varying in numbers at different periods of time. This auguſt and venerable body was compoſed of men of fortune, whoſe characters were exemplary, and their extraction noble. To obtain the dignity of a ſenator it was neceſſary to paſs through a regular gradation of important offices. They were the guardians of religion, they appointed the proconſuls to the command of provinces, had the diſpoſal of the public treaſures, and in times of alarm and danger could appoint dictators, and inveſt the conſuls with abſolute power.

To the *Comitia*, or general aſſembly of the Roman citizens belonged the excluſive privilege of making laws, the election of magiſtrates, and the declaration of war or peace. In criminal caſes, they exerciſed the right of pardon, or acquittal. The *Tribunes* of the people were inveſted with very high authority; and although originally intended only to mediate between the Plebeians and Patricians, they could annul the decrees of the ſenate by their negative, and, under pretence of meaſures injurious to the ſtate, could arreſt even the conſuls themſelves[a]. As ſome balance to theſe privileges of

[a] Liv. lib. iv. ſect. 26, &c.

the people, their aſſemblies paid great reſpect to the decrees of the ſenate, and to the ſentiments of perſons illuſtrious for their rank, and reſpectable for the offices they held in the ſtate. Still, however, the branches of the conſtitution ſtood much in need of a common principle of union; and as their privileges were ſo extenſive, and their power was ſo independent, they were frequently involved in contention and diſcord. But the great perſonal liberty enjoyed by every individual, added to an enthuſiaſtic patriotiſm, frequently united them; and even their conteſts for ſuperiority ſerved ultimately to eſtabliſh a firm and equal balance of power.

The ſpirit of ariſtocracy, infuſed into the government by Servius Tullius [b], was preſerved afterwards in the commonwealth; and this gave riſe to perpetual conteſts between the Patricians and Plebeians. The former, favoured by the ſenate, recommended by dignity of character, and illuſtrious birth, as they were deſcended from the ſenators of the firſt age of Rome, for ſome time had ſufficient influence to confine to themſelves the great offices of the ſtate. When the latter, after repeated ſtruggles, had obtained new privileges, the republic enjoyed more internal tranquillity, and her battles were fought with greater ardour; but by the oppreſſion and cruelty which frequently followed, it proved dangerous to inveſt an ignoble

[b] B. C. 550. Lib. lib. i. c. 42.

and

and indigent citizen with the ſovereign authority, as was fatally experienced during the bloody proſcriptions of Marius and Sylla. Sometimes many evils reſulted from the prevalence of the popular government, and ſometimes the Plebeians exerciſed their rights with moderation; and when they had acquired the privilege of chooſing the magiſtrates, they frequently ſhewed a magnanimous contempt of power. However fierce and bold, and however irritated by oppoſition, they were ſtill ſubmiſſive to the eſtabliſhed laws and public authority. Their diſſenſions gave a keener edge to their temper, and greater activity to their conduct. They encouraged the growth of all thoſe virtues, which were calculated to conciliate the affections of friends, ſtrike terror into enemies, and increaſe the neceſſity of perſonal merit. Thus did they form their hardy youth for the different ſituations of war and peace; as candidates for public offices at home, or competitors for fame abroad.

The cloſe and inſeparable connexion, which ſubſiſted between the civil and military departments, ſufficiently marks the character of the Roman people. In the enrolment of the cenſus, a plebeian was reckoned as a foot ſoldier, a knight as a horſeman, and a legion as a detachment of the whole community. The firſt officers of the ſtate were underſtood to command the armies of the republic by virtue of their civil magiſtracy. No citizen could aſpire to any high offices, before he had performed military ſervice for a certain term of years; and

and even in the extraordinary commiſſions, which were occaſionally given, civil and military rank were never diſjoined. The education of a ſoldier was the firſt ſtep to all the honours of the ſtate; and the ſame perſonal qualities, which were neceſſary for the general, were neceſſary for the pretor or the conſul. However difficult it may appear to blend in due proportions the characters of the ſoldier and the citizen; yet it is evident, that in Rome the union was really effected, and became productive of the boldeſt determinations in the ſenate, and the moſt invincible ſpirit in the field [c].

In the tranſactions of affairs with foreign ſtates, the policy of the Romans was as refined, as their conduct in the field was heroic. That this policy was the reſult of regular and ſyſtematic principles, and did not proceed from accident or particular contingencies, appears from the purſuit of the ſame meaſures in the early, as well as in the advanced ſtate of the republic. Whenever occupied by an important war, the Romans diſſembled injuries received from other ſtates, till a convenient time of retaliation. As they did not always make peace with ſincerity, their treaties were ſometimes no more than ſhort ſuſpenſions from hoſtilities; and they took care to introduce into them ſuch conditions as ultimately proved detrimental, and even deſtructive to their enemies [d]. When they had

[c] Ferguſon, vol. i. c. 3.

[d] Monteſquieu, Grandeur des Romains, c. vi.

conquered

conquered a powerful prince, they inſiſted upon his not making war upon his neighbours, under pretence of their alliance with themſelves; and, by this prohibition, they in effect deprived him of the exerciſe of his military power. Whenever two nations were at war, although not authorized by any alliance to interfere, they always eſpouſed the cauſe of the weaker party. They never commenced hoſtilities in a diſtant country, without procuring ſome ally near the enemy, whom they intended to attack. This meaſure contributed greatly to their ſucceſs in their wars with Carthage. The title of ally, indeed, was no more than a ſplendid and ſpecious name, under which they availed themſelves of the ſtrength and the reſources of other nations. So firm was their adherence to their fundamental maxim, to ſpare the vanquiſhed, and ſubdue the proud, that they were not to be moved by any reverſes of fortune, however diſaſtrous, to ſolicit peace. They looked with calmneſs upon the advances even of a victorious enemy; and, in the midſt of public diſaſters and defeats, diſplayed the ſedate dignity and unſhaken firmneſs of their genuine character. Their conduct to ſubdued countries ſhowed the refinement of conſummate politicians. They were cautious not to impoſe their laws and cuſtoms upon the nations they had ſubdued, as ſuch conduct muſt unavoidably have produced the moſt formidable confederacies and inſurrections: on the contrary, actuated by a ſpirit of mild and liberal toleration, they left them in the undiſturbed exerciſe of their religion and laws;

laws; and only enforced ſuch general principles of ſubordination, as corrected natural ferocity of diſpoſition, inclined them to adopt the arts and cuſtoms of their conquerors, and induced them to regard the Romans, rather as their benefactors, than their maſters [e].

In the vaſt compaſs of their dominions, from the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Danube to the deſerts of Libya, was felt the influence of their laws. Colonies were planted, municipal towns were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens, federal ſtates enjoying their own cuſtoms and laws were civilized, and the moſt uſeful public edifices, ſuch as bridges, aqueducts, and temples, adorned the different provinces. The wars, which had deſolated neighbouring countries with inceſſant fury, were terminated by their ſuperior influence; and their tributaries, united like the branches of one family, enjoyed a degree of intercourſe and peace, to which the world before that auſpicious period had been a ſtranger. Their political conduct, although ſometimes verſatile,

[e] Tacitus has informed us of the methods adopted by the politic Agricola, to ſoften the rugged manners of the Britons, and make them patient of the Roman yoke. "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire—inde etiam habitûs noſtri honor, et frequens toga; paulatimque diſceſſum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum *pars ſervitutis* eſſet." Taciti Vita Agric. p. 426. Ed. Græv. The laſt words of the ſentence diſcloſe to us the refined policy of the Romans.

and

and accommodated to circumſtances, was frequently directed by juſtice, generoſity, honour, and diſintereſtedneſs; and theſe virtues, ſupported by the great extent of their dominion, and the terror of their arms, diffuſed a blaze of glory round the Roman name, which dazzled the eyes of all nations.

In the year of Rome *556*, when the Greeks were met to celebrate the Iſthmian games at Corinth, a herald advanced into the middle of the amphitheatre, and having commanded ſilence by ſound of trumpet, he proclaimed that the Roman Senate and Titus Quinctius the general, in conſequence of having conquered Philip, King of Macedon, reſtored liberty and the free exerciſe of their own laws, to all the provinces of Greece. So tranſported were the aſſembled multitudes with this unexpected declaration, that they could ſcarcely credit the teſtimony of their ſenſes; and ſo completely did joy poſſeſs their minds at the news of this auſpicious event, that they could not fix the leaſt attention upon the performance of the games. As ſoon as they were concluded, the crowds haſtened to expreſs their gratitude to the Roman general. "How happy, exclaimed they, in this tranſport of exultation, is it for the world, that there ſhould exiſt a people who glory in expending their treaſures, and enduring the hardſhips of war to procure the liberty of others. This people do not confine their generous exertions to the neighbouring ſtates, but even traverſe the ocean to repel injuſtice,

juſtice, and eſtabliſh Religion and Law. Oppreſſed as we were by the yoke of a foreign tyrant, we now regain our ancient independence by the proclamation of a Roman herald. The hope of ſuch happineſs could only be the reſult of an aſpiring mind—to realize ſuch an expectation requires the ſingular favour of the Gods, and the greateſt generoſity of Men[f]."

The deſtination of the Romans to war was the firſt principle of their original inſtitutions; it was cultivated by their kings, and invariably purſued throughout every age of the commonwealth. It aroſe indeed primarily from the nature of their ſituation. The ſubjects of Romulus were compoſed of a mixed banditti, who made themſelves obnoxious to the neighbouring ſtates by the frequency of their predatory excurſions. As ſuch lawleſs conduct ſubjected them not only to juſt retaliation, but to the ſevereſt infliction of revenge, the wars, which the Romans at firſt began for the ſake of plunder, were ſoon continued upon principles of ſelf-preſervation: they became the objects of fear or of envy to all the ſurrounding people; and king after king, and ſtate after ſtate, came forth to cruſh their aſpiring power. Alba looked with a jealous eye upon the proſperity of her colony, and attempted its overthrow. The Volſci, Sabines, Samnites, Latins, and Etrurians ſucceeded; and the Gauls attacked them with ſuch numerous

[f] Livy, lib. 33. c. 32, &c.

armies,

armies, as often in the early ages of the republic threatened their deſtruction.

The ſhort duration of the conſular government, although liable to ſome inconveniencies, was to men of courage and talents a ſtrong incentive to martial exploits[s]. Various cauſes uſually operate to ſet bounds to the ambition of monarchs. In the courſe of a long reign, many paſſions, and even indolence itſelf, ſucceſſively rule their minds. But as the office of the chief magiſtrates of the republic was confined to a ſingle year, they were impatient to ſignalize their ſhort command by great and glorious achievements. The moment propitious to emulation and a love of glory was not to be loſt. They were powerfully ſtimulated to put a quick period to any war, in which they were engaged, by ſome rapid and deciſive meaſures; leſt the harveſt of victory and fame ſhould be reaped by their ſucceſſors. For the indulgence of this ſpirit of enterpriſe, the moſt extenſive ſcope was afforded, by a long ſeries of campaigns, battles, and ſieges; as the temple of Janus was ſhut only three times during the long period of 700 years, and only once whilſt

[s] Livy ſtates particularly the inconveniencies with regard to military operations, which aroſe from the ſhort period of the conſular power. I have endeavoured to reconcile that hiſtorian with Monteſquieu, with whom he is at iſſue upon this ſubject. Compare Monteſquieu, Grandeur, c. i. with Livy, lib. xli. c. 15. lib. xxiv. c. 8. lib. ix. c. 18.

Rome

Rome was ſubject to a conſular government, at the cloſe of the firſt Punic war[h].

II. This martial ſpirit, of which ſuch plain veſtiges may be traced in the early manners of the people, was matured by the ſtricteſt attention to diſcipline, by every encouragement to bear the labours of war, and by the invention and perfection of every expedient which could improve the arts of attack and defence[i].

Their diſcipline was the reſult of innumerable dangers, and of painful and long experience. Their attachment to it was equally politic and firm; for they were too acute not to diſcern that it was the moſt effectual ſupport of their power. The military oath was adminiſtered under peculiar circumſtances of ſolemnity. The legionary ſoldier ſwore with alacrity never to deſert the golden eagle, which was diſplayed in the front of his cohort or ſquadron. To this he looked up as to a tutelary god, under whoſe wings he fought with confidence, and by whoſe guidance he was aſſured he ſhould be led to victory[k].

[h] A. U. C. 517. in the conſulſhip of Atilius Bulbus, and Manlius Torquatus.

[i] Polybius, book vi. Gibbon, vol. i. c. 1. and his notes and authorities. Of the Roman diſcipline, caſtrametation, arms, marches, and martial laws, there is a very curious and diſtinct account in Joſephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 5.

[k] Tacitus expreſsly calls the ſtandards—"Propria legionum numina," and "bellorum deos." Tertullian well remarks—"Religio

In the ſpacious field of Mars, which was pleaſantly ſituated upon the banks of the Tyber, the ardent youth were exerciſed in feats of manly activity: here the charioteers contended in the rapid race, and the youthful recruits were trained to hurl the ſpear, and manage the horſe. The veterans here performed their various evolutions in toilſome review. Nothing was wanting to give this buſy ſcene the complete appearance of a field of battle, but the effuſion of blood. The ſoldiers were animated not only by the preſence, but the example, of their leaders. Even in the decline of life, Marius continued his accuſtomed exerciſes in this place, and here Pompey diſplayed his unrivalled ſkill in horſemanſhip.

When the army, previouſly trained to every martial exerciſe, had taken the field, the Roman general found that the ſureſt expedient to efface the diſhonour of a defeat, was to increaſe the labours of the campaign, rather than to diminiſh the vigour of his troops, by any relaxation of duty. Sylla compelled his ſoldiers, after they had fled before Mithridates, to labour with ſuch inceſſant aſſiduity, that they called for another battle, as a reſpite from their fatigues. Their toil not only inured them to hardſhips, but preſerved their conſtitutions vigorous and healthy, as they avoided thoſe ſudden changes from extreme exertion to extreme eaſe, which are ſo injurious to modern armies.

"Religio Romanorum tota caſtrenſis, ſigna veneratur, ſigna jurat, et omnibus diis præponit." Murphy's Tacitus.

Their native courage had every aſſiſtance, which it could in any degree derive from conſtant practice, and habitual ſkill. Their arms were heavier than thoſe of other nations, and their dexterity in uſing them was the reſult of confirmed habit. By the management of all kinds of weapons, and by the practice of every movement, which could give additional ſtrength and activity to the body, they were gradually trained to real action.

During the ſhort intervals of peace, they were engaged in the hardy occupation of agriculture, the only pacific employment which was thought worthy of a Roman citizen. To turn the ſtubborn ſoil, to be expoſed to all the changes of weather, to ſubſiſt upon a frugal diet, and undergo every rural labour, were the beſt preparatives for war. In the early ages of the commonwealth, this employment was ennobled by the practice of conſuls and dictators, who tilled their paternal fields with their own hands; and Cincinnatus, Fabius, and Fabricius, were called from the plough to fill the greateſt offices of ſtate, and lead their countrymen to battle.

The Romans looked with attention upon the warlike appointments and arms of other nations, and ſhowed their profound judgment in quickly adopting expedients to ſupply their own defects. They copied the form of the Sabine ſhield, and armed their troops with the Spaniſh ſword. Horſes for their cavalry were procured from Numidia; and

and the wreck of a Carthaginian veſſel, fortunately thrown upon their coaſt, was the model of their firſt ſhip of war. At the beginning of the conteſt with Carthage, they had not a ſingle veſſel of this deſcription; but at its cloſe they were maſters of the ſea. They ſtationed the captured elephants, which had been employed againſt them in the Punic wars, in the front of their army againſt Philip of Macedon. The genius of ſuch a people, ſo verſatile and alive to improvement, ſeemed to form them for extenſive empire; and hence it is the leſs extraordinary, that the ready adoption of foreign arms and inventions proved deſtructive to the nations which originally uſed them[1].

But the peculiar glory of Roman tactics aroſe from the formation and diſcipline of the legion. Agreeable to the genius of the people, it was better calculated for attack than defence. With reſpect to activity, it had great advantages over the Grecian and Macedonian phalanx, which was only ſo conſtructed, as to force its way by the depth and ſolidity of its compact and cloſely-wedged ranks. The open order, which the legionary troops preſerved, gave to every ſoldier the free exerciſe of his arms, and afforded ſpace for reinforcements to advance to the relief of thoſe, whoſe ſtrength was exhauſted. The ſpaces likewiſe gave room for the

[1] Monteſquieu, c. i. ii. Kennet, p. 239. Gibbon, vol. i. p. 11. Αγαθοι γαρ ει και τινες ἑτεροι μεταλαβειν εθη, και ζηλωσαι το Ϛιλτιον, Ῥωμαιοι. Polybius, lib. vi. ſect. 20, 21, 24. edit. Gronov.

firſt line to fall back into the ſecond, and with them to make a new attack; and if theſe two ranks when united were overpowered, they retired to the rear rank, with whoſe aſſiſtance they renewed the charge with threefold impetuoſity. The regular manner, in which this advance or retreat was conducted, conſtituted the perfection of the Roman diſcipline. The ſucceſs, which it muſt finally ſecure, was certain, when we conſider the legions oppoſed to irregular barbarians, who, if once routed, never returned to a ſecond attack. In many battles, the Romans were at firſt repulſed by the number or impetuoſity of the hoſtile troops: but by their judicious arrangements and evolutions, the event was ultimately favourable; the enemy was checked in the midſt of his ſucceſsful career, and the laurel of victory was ſuddenly ſnatched from his hands[m].

The firſt model of a Roman camp ſeems to have been firſt ſuggeſted by the rude intrenchments, which

[m] Gibbon, vol. i. c. 1. Ferguſon, c. 3. and the cited paſſages. Livy contraſts the phalanx with the legion, and points out the ſuperior excellence of the latter, when comparing the forces of Alexander with the Romans—"Statarius uterque miles, ordines ſervans: ſed illa phalanx immobilis et unius generis: Romana acies diſtinctior, ex pluribus partibus conſtans: facilis partienti, quacunque opus eſſet, facilis jungenti." Liv. lib. viii. c. 8. et lib. ix.

"Yet was this *phalanx* never or very ſeldom able to ſtand againſt the Roman armies, which were embattelled in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not whether any nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince." Sir W. Raleigh, p. 263.

Romulus

Romulus cauſed to be thrown up to defend his riſing city. This plan was in ſucceeding times greatly improved; and the camp of the Romans was remarkable for the perfect regularity of its quadrangular form: it was divided by parallel lines, compoſing ſpacious ſtreets, for the accommodation, in ſeparate detachments, of cavalry, infantry, and auxiliaries; was ſecured by the breadth and depth of its ditch, and the loftineſs of its ramparts, armed with a line of ſtrong and cloſe paliſades. When at this day we trace the remaining veſtiges of their encampments, we can in ſome degree realize the deſcriptions which the ancients have given us, and fairly infer the greatneſs of their ſtrength from their long duration. Many camps in this iſland, and upon the continent, ſuch as that near Kyneton, upon the borders of Herefordſhire—the camp near Dorcheſter in Dorſetſhire; at Caſter, or Venta Icenorum, near Norwich; Cæſar's camp upon the Rhine, and that which overtops the white cliffs of Dieppe, may be ſuppoſed, from their preſent freſh and unbroken appearance, to have been formed only a few centuries ago.

The elegant and lively hiſtorian Livy, preſents us with a very ſtriking inſtance of the effect produced upon the minds of their enemies, by the martial improvements made by the Romans. Philip the ſecond, king of Macedon, cauſed the bodies of ſome of his ſoldiers, who had fallen in a ſkirmiſh, to be brought into his camp, that they might be buried with military honours. His motive was to

inſtigate his army to expoſe themſelves with more alacrity to the dangers of war. But the method which he took to rouſe their courage, produced a contrary effect, inclined them to inactivity, and increaſed their fears. His troops, who had been accuſtomed to fight with the Greeks and Illyrians, and to inflict and receive only ſlight wounds made by darts and arrows, now beheld the bodies of their dead comrades marked by deep and ghaſtly cuts, and deprived of heads and limbs by the keen and vigorous ſtrokes of the ſpaniſh ſwords, the weighty weapons of the Romans. With diſmay they reflected upon the enemies with whom they had to contend, and the great ſuperiority of their arms, and mode of fighting. Philip himſelf, no leſs alarmed, recalled his ſon Perſeus and his troops from the ſtraights of Pelagonia to reinforce his deſponding army. From a lofty hill he ſoon after reconnoitered the poſition of the enemy, and took a diſtinct view of their camp. He remarked the different quarters into which it was divided, the exact order in which the tents were pitched, and the interſections which formed the ſtreets. Aſtoniſhed at the admirable arrangement of all the parts, he candidly acknowledged, as Pyrrhus king of Epirus had done before, that no nation could equal the Romans in the ſkill diſplayed in this eſſential branch of the art of war[n].

But the Romans found, that the perfection of their movements in the field, and the ſecurity of

[n] Liv. lib. 31. c. 36.

their

their poſition in camps, would not complete the military art, without impoſing the ſtricteſt reſtraints upon the conduct of a ſoldier, and holding out the moſt lucrative and glorious recompence for his valour. Such was the inflexible rigour of martial law, that cowardice and diſobedience led to inevitable death, inflicted by the ſwords and darts of his comrades; whilſt, on the other hand, every exploit was attended by its appropriate honour. The rich trappings of horſes, the golden chain, the civic, the mural, and the roſtral crowns, awaited the return of the veteran from the field of battle; and penſions ariſing from the ſale of the conquered lands, or ſettlements upon fertile ſpots of ground, were granted for the ſupport of his declining age, and as the rewards of his long and faithful ſervices.

The *Triumph*, which derived its origin from the earlieſt age of the republic, when Romulus returned home laden with ſpoils of his vanquiſhed enemies, tended in a much greater degree to cheriſh this martial ſpirit [p]. This ceremony, repugnant as it was to the feelings of compaſſion for the diſtreſſed, and calculated to encourage arrogance and oſtentation, in point of ſplendour and pomp, was ſuperior to the honour ever paid to victorious chiefs and armies in any other country. It was attended by an innumerable concourſe of applauding ſpectators, collected from every part of the empire. Such was

[p] Livy, lib. c. 9. Florus, lib. i. c. 18.

the glory aſſigned to Paulus Æmilius, the great conqueror of Macedon, after he had brought Perſeus, king of that country, and his family, priſoners to Rome[p]. The proceſſion paſſed through ſpacious and lofty arches, ornamented with pictures and ſtatues, to the ſplendid temple of the lofty capital. At firſt appeared bands of trumpeters, and other martial muſicians, who, to prepare the ſpectators for military ſcenes, ſounded the loud and animating charge of battle. The prieſts, clothed in long robes, and crowned with chaplets, walked by the ſide of the white oxen of Clitumnus devoted to ſacrifice. The ſculptured figures, painted banners, and various ſymbols of the ſubdued cities and provinces, were diſtinctly diſplayed. The gold and ſilver coin depoſited in capacious vaſes, were carried upon the ſhoulders of the moſt robuſt ſoldiers. The burniſhed coats of mail, waving creſts, glittering ſpears, and the golden goblets and rich plate which had adorned the royal banquets of Antigonus and Seleucus, beſt diſpoſed for the view of the people, were conveyed in long trains of carriages. The chariot of the captive king next appeared, containing his diadem and his armour. Then walked Perſeus clad in mourning, with ſlow and melancholy ſteps, attended by his children and friends. The golden crowns, ſent by the numerous ſtates in alliance with the republic, as tokens of congratulation on her recent conqueſt, carried in the hands of their reſpective ambaſſadors, announced

[p] B. C. 168. Liv. lib. xlv. c. 39 et 40.

the

the approach of the conqueror himſelf. Paulus Emilius appeared ſtanding erect, in a magnificent chariot, that was drawn by four milk-white horſes; he was clothed in a purple robe, his head encircled with a refulgent diadem, and waving in his hand a branch of laurel. The proceſſion was cloſed by the whole army bearing the Imperial eagles at the front of their cohorts and ſquadrons, and intermixing with the ſong of triumph the praiſes of their general.

Thoſe who inſtituted the triumph as a national celebrity, perfectly underſtood the genius of a people diſpoſed to catch the flame of emulation from every incident, which gave dignity to the character of a ſoldier. This honour was indeed rarely granted to any officer of inferior rank to a dictator, conſul, or prætor: but as each of them ſhared it in common with every tribune, centurion, and even legionary of his army, it failed not to inſpire them all with ardour for military ſervice[q]. The ſame

[q] The honour of a triumph was refuſed to L. Cornelius Lentulus, becauſe he had borne none of theſe offices: "Res triumpho dignas eſſe cenſebat ſenatus: ſed exemplum a majoribus non accepiſſe, ut qui, neque dictator, neque conſul, neque prætor res geſſiſſet, triumpharet." Liv. Hiſt. lib. xxxi. c. 20. But this honour was granted to Pompey, when only a *knight*. See his Life by Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 299. Plutarch, a Greek, and Joſephus, a Jew, have given circumſtantial deſcriptions of the Roman triumph. It is only from foreigners, or thoſe who write for foreigners, that we can expect particular accounts of manners, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, which are familiar to natives.

diſtinction,

diſtinction, therefore, which was the reward of one victory, frequently proved the ſource of another.

III. Rome at an early period called for the aid of religion, to give greater efficacy to her civil laws and military inſtitutions. Numa lulled the infant kingdom into a ſhort repoſe, in order to ſtrengthen it by his ſacred eſtabliſhments[r]. The attention paid to augury, which was at once the reſource and the deluſion of the Romans, aroſe to the higheſt degree of ſuperſtition. Not only the departed heroes, who had been raiſed to the rank of divinity by the elegant fictions of Greece, as well as the gods of other nations, were naturalized; but every virtue and vice, every art and profeſſion, the deities of every grove and ſtream, derived a peculiar character from their reſpective votaries; were repreſented by images, ornamented with peculiar ſymbols, and worſhipped with appropriate rites. The exceſſive credulity of the populace, ever eager for the account of prodigies and fables, was at all times flattered by the magiſtrates, and reſpected by the philoſophers, who, however they might ſmile in ſecret at the prevailing ſuperſtition, ſtill aſſumed in public the maſk of external reverence for the mythology of their country. The ceremonies of polytheiſm were in general of the moſt cheerful tendency; proceſſions to the temples, except in caſes of public calamity, were ſocial meetings of feſtivity;

[r] B.C. 713. Liv. lib. i. c. 19, &c

and

and ſacrifices to the gods were little more than the feaſts of their worſhippers.

A ſcrupulous attention to religion was the peculiar boaſt and pride of the Romans: and Cicero heſitates not to aſſert, that to their piety, and their firm belief in the over-ruling providence of the gods, they were indebted for their aſcendancy over all other nations*. The eſtabliſhment of pontiffs, flamens, augurs, and veſtals, was ſupported by conſecrated lands; and as the civil and military departments were not deemed incompatible with the religious, even emperors, conſuls, and generals aſpired to, and exerciſed, the offices of the prieſthood. The union of religion indeed with the civil government is a ſtriking feature in the Roman policy. Auguſtus was ſenſible of its great importance; and he, as well as ſucceeding emperors, ſought to raiſe himſelf above the attacks of his enemies, and exalt the reſpectability of his character to the greateſt elevation, by aſſuming the venerable title and inviolable dignity of the Pontifex Maximus.

IV. The ſpirit of patriotiſm was never ſo generally diffuſed, nor ſo long preſerved, as in ancient Rome. So ardent were the ſentiments which it inſpired, and ſo daring the actions which it excited,

* "Sed pietate ac religione, atque *hac una* ſapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus." Cicero de Haruſp. Reſponſis.

that

that it was rather a paſſion than a habit of the mind. It was the ſource of numberleſs virtues; it foſtered patience, and alleviated toil; it extinguiſhed the fire of ambition, and even ſilenced the voice of nature; and taught the Romans to deſpiſe all private intereſt, and to ſubmit to the ſevereſt pain for the benefit of the ſtate. Hence Junius Brutus condemned his traitorous ſons to an ignominious death. Regulus, unmoved by the ſupplications of his weeping relations and friends, and undiſmayed by the proſpect of certain torture, returned to Carthage; and the inflexible Manlius Torquatus, checking the ſtrongeſt feelings of the heart, devoted his victorious ſon to the ſword of the executioner.

The republic was frequently agitated by the moſt violent convulſions of party. The debates of the ſenate were interrupted by the clamorous demands of the tribunes, ſolicitous to ſecure the rights of the people. The forum was often a ſcene of war, and the peaceful gown was ſtained with blood. Both Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, the intemperate advocates for the revival of the Agragrian law, miſled by injudicious zeal for the privileges of the plebeians, fell a ſacrifice to the vengeance of ariſtocratic power; and in a ſubſequent period, the wants of the profligate, and the ambition of the noble, produced a deep and formidable conſpiracy, which was detected by the vigilance of Cicero, and hurried Catiline to open rebellion and death.

Still

Still we find that internal diſcord was often ſilenced, when intelligence was brought to the city of hoſtile deſigns and movements. Such an alarm was ſufficient to abate the animoſity of contending factions, and to unite every order in the firmeſt union for the public ſervice. The arrival of Hannibal in Italy, produced an immediate ceſſation of all civil diſſentions. The ſtorm, which had raged at home ſuddenly increaſed its violence, but changed its direction, and fell with redoubled fury upon the common enemy.

From the love of their country immediately reſulted, in the pureſt times of the commonwealth, the ſacrifice of every private intereſt to the public welfare. The Romans foreſaw that opulence, by the introduction of luxury, would diſqualify them for the toils of war, and deſtroy that juſt equality, which limits ambition to the ſole deſire of acting for the general good. They therefore eſteemed poverty a virtue; and this, which in the firſt inhabitants of Rome was the effect of neceſſity, became among their deſcendants, for ſome ages, an object of choice. They conſidered it as the ſure guardian of liberty, and oppoſed it to the encroachments of corruption. A Roman, during the pureſt times of the commonwealth, thought that frugality formed a part of his glory; and at the ſame time that he expoſed his life to every danger, in order to fill the public treaſury, he performed military ſervice without ſtipend or gratuity. Every one thought himſelf ſufficiently opulent in the riches of the ſtate, and would

would have eſteemed it unworthy of his character to require any emolument from the offices with which his country had inveſted him, and which he held only to contribute to her aggrandizement. The generals, animated by the ſame noble contempt of wealth as the common ſoldiers, depended only for their ſubſiſtence on their ſmall inheritance of land, which they tilled with their own hands. Regulus requeſted permiſſion of the Senate to return from the command of the army, to the cultivation of his little farm[t]. And Paulus Æmilius, who filled his native city with the rich ſpoils of the kings of Macedon, died without ſufficient money to defray the expences of his funeral.

This virtuous and patriotic diſpoſition may be illuſtrated by the ſumptuary laws, which were enacted at different periods, and which, without any exception in favour of high birth, fortune, or rank, regulated the expences of every citizen. No articles of luxury eſcaped the attention of theſe rigid and ſagacious legiſlators, who ſaw the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing public opulence upon private economy. By the Oppian law, the Roman ladies were prohibited from wearing robes of various colours, from having ornaments which exceeded the value of half an ounce of gold, and from being drawn in a chariot by two horſes, unleſs to attend ſome public ſolemnity. Orchius limited the number of gueſts to be invited to entertainments; Fannius regulated

[t] B.C. 256.

the

the expence of public feſtivals; and Cornelius confined that of funerals to a very moderate ſum. And as a proof that in theſe pure times any relaxation of ſuch laws was highly diſapproved, even by thoſe who were moſt the objects of their ſeverity, Duronius was expelled the Senate, becauſe, when he ſerved the office of tribune, he had abrogated the law which limited the expence of feaſts [a].

[a] For the hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of the Roman laws, ſee Duck de Auctoritate Juris Civilis, Eden's Elements of the Civil Law. For the origin of the laws of the Twelve Tables, and their diviſion into their various parts, ſee Livy, lib. iii. c. 32, 34. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. b. x. Hook's Roman Hiſtory, vol. i. b. ii. c. 27. Livy, lib. vi. c. 41. Gravina, lib. ii. c. 28. Polybius, b. 6.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Subject continued.

THE cauſes ſtated in the preceding chapter had the greateſt influence upon the ſentiments and the conduct of the Romans, both at home and abroad, eſtabliſhed their military character, and raiſed them by ſlow degrees to the ſummit of dominion.

Vain were the efforts of the people of Italy to reſiſt them; and the ſucceſſive attacks of the ſovereigns of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, were equally fruitleſs. The diſgraceful capitulation of the legions in the ſtraights of Caudium, the near approach of Coriolanus to Rome at the head of the Volſci, were productive of no permanent advantage to the conquerors. The armies of the republic were often compelled to fly, or to ſurrender, and were ſometimes reduced to the moſt humiliating diſtreſs. But the ſevereſt repulſes tended only to give a new ſpring to their exertions. The impetuous fury of the Gauls, and the alacrity of Pyrrhus, made indeed a temporary impreſſion; but they could not finally prevail. At one time Varro, at another Cneius Scipio was cut off, their forces were routed, and the braveſt of their troops were ſlain; but the courage of the ſenate and the people was ſtill firm and undaunted; the ſpirit of their inſtitutions cheriſhed

it, and their exertions were too much the reſult of calm intrepidity and confirmed habit, to be diſconcerted by the fall of a general, the overthrow of an army, or the ſuſpenſion of a triumph. Victory was ſometimes capricious in the diſtribution of her favours; ſhe flew to give tranſient ſucceſs to other nations, and ſwelled their minds with deluſive hopes of conqueſt. But moſt propitious to diſcipline, valour, and perſeverance, ſhe failed not finally to encircle with her unfading laurel the brows of her darling Romans.

In the Carthaginians we behold their moſt formidable enemies. They were the only people, who, by their opulence, territories, ſpirit, and reſources, ſeemed capable of contending with them for empire, with any proſpect of ſucceſs[a]. Their tranſactions and

[a] For an accurate account of the conſtitution, laws, commerce, and dominions of Carthage, ſee Ferguſon's Roman Republic, vol. i. p. 88. Into one chapter of moderate length he has compreſſed the memorable tranſactions of the ſecond Punic war, p. 106. The account of the battle of Cannæ is detained with ſingular preciſion and perſpicuity.

Polybius has drawn a conciſe but ſtriking contraſt between the flouriſhing condition of Rome, and the declining ſtate of Carthage, at the commencement of the firſt Punic war. Lib. vi. ſect. 49. &c. See Ariſtot. de Republica, lib. ii. cap. 9. Polybius ſupplied Livy with much information relative to the Punic wars. Livy has not only adopted, in many inſtances, his ſtatement of facts, but even has literally tranſlated his expreſſions. As an acknowledgment for ſuch obligations, he has merely mentioned Polybius in ſuch terms as theſe: haudquaquam ſpernendus auctor," and "non incertum auctorem." Liv. lib. xxx. c. 45.

and wars form one of the moſt intereſting portions of the hiſtory we are now conſidering. But unfortunately for their fame, and the wiſhes of poſterity, the chief accounts recorded of them are received from the writings of their prejudiced rivals. The Roman hiſtorians take delight in placing all their tranſactions in the moſt unfavourable light, and aſperſe their national character with the odious imputation of ſyſtematic cruelty and perfidy. Nor are the Greek writers totally free from an unfavourable bias, and the influence of ſimilar prejudices. The moſt impartial and full detail of their government, laws, arts, manners, and inſtitutions, would have been peculiarly intereſting to Britain, as they roſe to their height of dominion and opulence by the power of their navy, and the extent of their colonies and commerce. During the ſecond Punic war, the full energy of both nations was drawn forth into action[b]. Hannibal combined in his character all the qualifications of a great ſtateſman, and a conſummate general; and when the magnitude and the number of the obſtacles he ſurmounted in his invaſion of Italy be conſidered, the extenſive and difficult track of country which he traverſed, the factious parties of Carthage, which attempted to diſconcert all his meaſures, the diſcordant intereſts of the allied forces which he reconciled, and the powerful armies and ſkilful gene-

and lib. xxxiii. c. 10. I am inclined however to admit the reaſons brought by Drakenborch, tom. iv. p. 506. for ſuppoſing that theſe expreſſions were intended to convey proper ſentiments of reſpect.

[b] B. C. 220.

rals

rals he oppoſed, he may ſurely be ranked, where Scipio Africanus, his great rival in arms, did not heſitate to place him, among the greateſt heroes of antiquity.

Even after the ſucceſſive defeats of the Romans at Thraſimene, at Trebia, and the complete deſtruction of their choiceſt army at Cannæ, when they were baſely deſerted by many of their allies, the ſenate did not relax, even for a moment, the firmneſs of ancient inſtitutions, and diſdained to negociate with the enemy, while he continued within the territories of the republic. And at that critical conjuncture, far from being diſmayed at his approach, they ſold by public auction the ground upon which his army was encamped; and it was purchaſed at the price it would have reached during a period of the utmoſt tranquillity. At the ſame time that a body of troops advanced from the city to give battle to Hannibal, another detachment marched out at an oppoſite gate to reinforce the army in Spain [c].

The victorious Hannibal, inſtead of making an additional effort of courage in compliance with the advice of his moſt experienced officers, and marching with rapidity to Rome, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, before his enemies could recover from their conſternation, was imprudent enough to allow his ſoldiers to indulge in the enervating

[c] Livy, lib. xxvi. c. 11.

luxuries of Capua. This was the ſubject of his vain lamentation, as he was reluctantly ſailing back to his native country, and beheld for the laſt time the leſſening ſhores of Italy, that had been ſo frequently the ſcenes of his glory[d]. Such is the intereſting account of Livy. But it ſeems probable that a want of thoſe ſupplies, which he requeſted immediately after the battle of Cannæ, was the true cauſe of the decline of his proſperity, and the ruin of Carthage; as he continued to infeſt Italy for the courſe of fourteen years after his ſtay at Capua, during that time gained ſeveral victories, and kept his enemies in a ſtate of conſtant alarm for the ſafety of the empire.

The ſteady ardour of Scipio Africanus turned the tide of ſucceſs, and the fortune of Hannibal and of Carthage ſunk under his triumphant arms[e]. The battle of Zama gave to the Romans the dominion of the world. The event of the ſecond Punic war was particularly advantageous, by affording them the means of carrying their conqueſts into the moſt diſtant countries: for after the defeat of the Carthaginians, there were no maritime forces ſufficiently powerful to contend with them for the command of the ocean. As their plan of operations was conducted upon regular principles, their ſucceſs was not unſtable and tranſitory, like that of Alexander the Great, but continued through the long

[d] Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 18, &c. lib. xxx. cap. 20.
[e] B. C. 202. Liv. lib. xxx. cap. 35.

period

period of nine centuries to accumulate power, and gradually add kingdom to kingdom.

After Rome had ſubdued the faireſt countries of the ancient world, the arms of her ambitious generals were directed againſt each other. To the bloody proſcriptions of Marius and Sylla ſucceeded the ſtratagems and triumphs of the politic and accompliſhed Julius Cæſar. Elated with his conqueſts in Gaul, and fired with the moſt ardent ambition, he paſſed the Rubicon, the preſcribed boundary of his province, to plunge his ſword into the boſoms of his countrymen[f]. The ſtern virtue of Cato, and the proweſs of the amiable Pompey, were ineffectually oppoſed to the haughty dictator. At length, pierced by the daggers of thoſe friends whoſe lives he had ſpared, he expired in the ſenate-houſe beneath the ſtatue of his unhappy rival. The debauched and profligate Antony forged new chains for his countrymen; and Brutus and Caſſius, who for a long time oppoſed only mild remonſtrances to his enormities and his uſurpation, at length had recourſe to unavailing arms; and the fields of Philippi were ſtained with their patriotic blood[g]. The eloquence of Cicero, which had been ſucceſsfully directed againſt the rapacity of Verres, and the conſpiracy of Catiline, was the cauſe of his own lamentable end. With the boldneſs of truth, and the warmth of indiſcretion, he provoked the rage

[f] B.C. 50. Ferguſon, vol. ii. book iii. chap. 1, &c.
[g] Ferguſon, vol. ii. chap. 4.

of an implacable tyrant by the enumeration of his private vices. The matchleſs power of his talents, the unſullied integrity of his character, and a long life devoted to the ſervice of his friends and the public, pleaded for him in vain. The vindictive Antony fixed his guiltleſs head upon that roſtrum, from which he had ſo frequently delighted and inſtructed his countrymen [h].

This period of hiſtory, from the time of Marius to the acceſſion of Auguſtus, preſents the moſt calamitous proſpect, filled with recitals of ſanguinary proſcriptions, and crowded with images of martial horror. It abounds with examples of ſucceſsful villainy, and unavailing virtue. But after the naval victory of Actium had given the empire to Auguſtus, the ſcene brightened into the fair views of order and happineſs, the ſtorms of civil diſcord were huſhed into peace, and philoſophy, literature, and the arts, derived the greateſt and moſt honourable encouragement from his patronage.

To the Tuſcans Rome was firſt indebted for its works of architecture, ſculpture, and painting. The qualities, which particularly characterized the productions of that ingenious people, were boldneſs, ſolidity, and grandeur, as appear from the foundations of the Capitol, the remains of the Cloaca Maxima, and many other ſpecimens which are ſtill extant. But the ſuperior elegance of Grecian exe-

[h] B.C. 50.

cution

cution attracted the whole attention of the Romans, as ſoon as their conqueſts gave them an opportunity of becoming converſant with Grecian works of art.

From the indiſcriminate collection of the ſpecimens of the fine arts, aroſe by ſlow degrees the genuine taſte of the Romans. When Marcellus took Syracuſe, he conveyed all the pictures and ſtatues of that elegant city to Rome. The remonſtrances of Fabius Maximus againſt his conduct were uttered without effect; and in vain did he repreſent, that as ſuch trifles formed the occupation and the amuſement of an idle and an effeminate people, they were beneath the notice of his countrymen, diſtinguiſhed as they were for the daring energy of their minds, and the manly roughneſs of their character. The love of the arts, which commenced at this period, was ſucceſſively gratified by the conqueſt of thoſe Grecian cities moſt eminent as the repoſitories of their productions. The triumph of Æmilius was graced with ſome of the choiceſt monuments of ſculpture; and Mummius, the taſteleſs conqueror of Achaia, completely ſtripped Corinth of her ſtatues and pictures, to enrich his native city. Sometimes the vanity, and ſometimes the avarice of generals and governors of provinces, contributed to make Rome a magazine of the faireſt ſpoils of Greece; and the cuſtom of adorning the theatres with them by the public authority of the magiſtrates, contributed to diffuſe a refinement of taſte. And even during the bloody conflicts of the civil wars, the

public and private repoſitories were conſiderably enriched; for Sylla brought home the plunder of Athens, and Julius Cæſar formed a valuable collection of ancient gems.

An æra of the higheſt refinement commenced with the reign of Auguſtus[i], whoſe palace was adorned with the rich vaſes of Corinth. Grecian artiſts were invited to Rome, and the maſterly execution of the medals of that period, prove their ſuperiority to thoſe of former times. The capital of the world, which Auguſtus found diſgraced by buildings of the rudeſt forms and materials, diſplayed under his auſpices and thoſe of his ſon-in-law Agrippa, in its marble palaces, temples, and theatres, all the elegance and majeſty of Grecian architecture. The public edifices were not only furniſhed with the choiceſt ornaments of the ſame country, but the ſtreets and ſquares exhibited the exquiſite images of all the Pagan deities[k].

The

[i] B.C. 27.

[k] The admirer of ancient ſculpture may ſee ſome fine ſpecimens of the art in the Pomfret collection in Oxford. He will however be ſorry to find them crowded together in a gloomy room. The Pembroke collection at Wilton is remarkable for the number of buſts: when I ſaw them ſome years ago, I thought few of them equal to the fame of the collection. Perhaps Lord Carliſle, at Caſtle Howard, in Yorkſhire, has as many, if not more, genuine antiques. At Mr. Duncombe's, at Duncombe Park, may be ſeen the ancient *Grecian dog*, formerly in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Lock, and the *Diſcobolus*, ſo finiſhed and ſo eaſy in attitude, that it is worthy of the chiſel of a Phidias, or Praxiteles. But the beſt ſchool of obſervation which this country can afford

to

The ſame obligations, which the Romans owed to Greece for inſpiring them with a love of the arts, were extended to philoſophy and polite literature, with this remarkable difference, that in the former they were only admirers, and in the latter they ventured to be competitors with their great maſters. A fondneſs for ſculpture and painting, and the cultivation of eloquence and poetry, kept nearly an equal pace; and the ſame age ſaw them ariſe, and flouriſh together. Writers, whoſe works are the glory of ancient Italy, and the ſubject of encomium for every generation, adorned this golden period, and reached that ſtandard of excellence, from which the unpoliſhed ſtyle of their predeceſſors, and the degenerate affectation of their followers, ſeem equally remote. Horace and Virgil, Tibullus and Propertius, flouriſhed in the court of Auguſtus. The two firſt, indeed, through the noble patronage and friendſhip of Mæcenas, enjoyed the ſmiles of the Emperor, who was himſelf diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of his compoſitions, and the purity of his taſte. The Lyric as well as the Epic muſe were grateful for his protection and liberality; and Horace and Virgil, indulging the vanity of the Julian

to any one who is deſirous of improving his taſte, may be found at Mr. Townley's, in Dartmouth-ſtreet, Weſtminſter. The ſtatue of *Iſis*, or *Cybele*, crowned with the lotus, is majeſtic; the ſleeping *Adonis* is very elegant; but the *Thalia*, or Paſtoral Muſe, is ſo inimitable for delicate proportions, and tranſparent drapery, which adorns without concealing any part of the figure, that it exceeds all praiſe. For an entertaining account of ſculpture, and of Engliſh collections in particular, ſee Mr. Dallaway's Anecdotes of the Arts, p. 163, &c.

family,

family, who claimed a divine origin, have raiſed the betrayer of Cicero, and the colleague of the profligate Antony, to the rank of a deity, and perpetuated his fame in their incomparable poems.

Auguſtus having always preſented to his mind the image of the murdered Julius, ſtudied to avoid his fate by avoiding his conduct. Verſed in the deepeſt arts of diſſimulation, he purſued with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs his ambitious career. Yet the equity of his laws, and the prudent adminiſtration of his government, during forty years of glory and peace, made no inconſiderable recompence to his country for the evils which he had before inflicted, or countenanced. Rome itſelf roſe to unknown ſplendour; and his munificence, moderation, and paternal care, were bounded only by the confines of his vaſt empire. He preſented to the world a moſt extraordinary character, ſince he proved that the ſmiles of fortune, far from increaſing the ſeverity of his temper, and giving a keener edge to his reſentment, could ſoften a timid and ſanguinary tyrant into a mild and generous prince[1]

Perhaps the character, which the judicious hiſtorian of the Roman republic has given of him, may afford the beſt clue to his conduct. "He does not appear to have had from nature, in any high

[1] "Reſtitit aliquandiu collegis, ne qua fieret proſcriptio, ſed *inceptam utroque acerbius* exercuit." Suetonius.

degree,

degree, thoſe diſpoſitions to malice or benevolence, which are the great diſtinguiſhing principles of virtue and vice. He ſeems to have been indifferent to mankind, but deſirous of conſideration and power, as objects of intereſt to himſelf. His ruling paſſion was a deſire to reign. In his way to this end, he committed many crimes: but having once effected his purpoſe, he had no other criminal diſpoſition to gratify: or after he was ſovereign, ſtanding in awe of a free ſpirit, which he durſt not inſult, he either from inclination or policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is ſurpriſing every one elſe does not prefer, the proper uſe of his power to the abuſe of it[m]."

But notwithſtanding the external magnificence of Rome, and her proſperity during his reign and that of his immediate ſucceſſors, the manners of the people gradually underwent a great change; the ſtate contained in her boſom the cauſes of her own decay, and the poiſon of diſſolution preyed upon her vitals. She became as abject and degraded, as ſhe had ever been great and powerful. The empreſs of the world ſunk into the moſt humiliating condition; and her downfal may be attributed, I. to the extinction of patriotiſm; II. the introduction of luxury; III. the neglect of the ancient modes of education[n].

The

[m] Ferguſon, vol. iii. c. 5, &c.

[n] In a train of beautiful allegory Sir W. Raleigh thus alludes to the preceding and ſubſequent parts of this hiſtory. "We have

The indiſcriminate admiſſion of all the ſubjects of the empire to the freedom of the city, although a conciliating, was a moſt impolitic meaſure. Inſtead of raiſing the natives of the provinces to the dignity of Romans, this privilege produced the oppoſite effect, and ſunk the latter to a level with the former. It extinguiſhed thoſe high ſentiments of patriotiſm, and that pride of compariſon, upon which the old republicans had valued themſelves, as it deſtroyed an excluſive intereſt in the proſperity of the empire, and degraded the dignity of the Roman character. The right of citizenſhip was rendered of no value, by being ſo widely diffuſed; and the enthuſiaſm, which had fired a Brutus, a Cocles, and a Manlius, to fight for the tombs of their fathers, and the altars of their gods, was extinguiſhed. The people were no longer actuated by the ſame love of independence, or the ſame deteſtation of ſervility. They looked no more with a jealous eye upon the power of the ſenate, or the prerogatives of the patricians; and undiſtinguiſhed in the crowds of new competitors for the ſame privileges, they gradually ſunk into inſignificance. The bond of union and ſub-

have left the empire of Rome, the laſt of the four great monarchies of the world, flouriſhing in the middle of the field, having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beauty it had; the ſtorms of ambition ſhall beat her great boughs and branches one againſt another, her leaves ſhall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down." Hiſtory of the World, p. 668.

ordina-

ordination was broken, and the city was torn by innumerable factions of ſtrangers, as ſoon as every province was allowed to form cabals and aſſociations, and to ſhelter its inhabitants under the patronage of ſome powerful nobleman*.

The profuſion and extravagance of the rich were diſplayed in the celebration of the public games. The combats of gladiators, and the races of charioteers, were exhibited to the diſſolute crowds, who, indulging only the impulſe of a childiſh curioſity, ſpent whole days in the Circus. The licentious productions of the ſtage, often repreſented with all the attractions of ſplendid decorations and crowded proceſſions, vitiated the general taſte, inflamed the paſſions of youth, and encouraged diſſipation and immorality of conduct in perſons of every claſs.

II. From the deſtruction of Carthage may be traced the gradual progreſs of *Luxury*. Profuſion and extravagance began to prevail as ſoon as the precious metals were introduced in abundance. Voluptuouſneſs uſurped the place of temperance, indolence ſucceeded to activity; ſelf-intereſt, ſenſuality, and avarice, totally extinguiſhed that ardour, which in antient times had glowed in every breaſt for the general good. The ſtreams of wealth, that flowed into Rome at the decline of the commonwealth, were ſuch as almoſt exceed

* Monteſquieu, cap. ix.

belief.

belief[p]. The corruption that prevailed at this time forms the ſtrongeſt contraſt imaginable to the pure times of the republic, when Polybius wrote his hiſtory. He contraſts the inflexible honour of the manly Romans with the perfidious character of the effeminate Greeks. The luxurious feaſts of the Romans, the number of their domeſtics, and the variety of their places of reſidence, ſometimes kept pace with, and ſometimes even exceeded their great revenues. Apicius, the celebrated epicure, committed ſuicide, becauſe his fortune, inadequate to the enormous demands of his depraved appetite, did not exceed the ſum of eighty thouſand pounds. Seneca mentions ſingle ſuppers, which conſumed the whole eſtate of a Roman knight. No fewer than eighteen elegant villas, ſituated in the moſt delightful parts of Italy, were poſſeſſed by Cicero: and, as if the land was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the caprice of a Roman of faſhion, the lakes and the ſea were occupied by houſes, which extended a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhores. To every nobleman belonged ſuch numerous parties of ſlaves, that they were claſſed according to their nations, and ſtationed in ſeparate diviſions of his palaces.

The republic, which had long withſtood the ſhocks of external violence, fell gradually a prey

[p] ——————————— fævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.
Juven. Sat. vi.

Ferguſon, vol. iii. p. 436. Polybius, lib. vi. ſect. 54. See the excellent note of Brotier de Luxu Romanorum. Tacitus, tom. i. p. 402. 4to. ed.

to

to proſperity. Her gallant chiefs had viewed with undaunted eye the approach of Hannibal, and defied the armies of Pyrrhus: but their degenerate deſcendants, even the poſterity of Fabius and of Scipio, enriched with the ſpoils of Greece, and ſurfeited with the luxuries of Aſia, leaving their battles to be fought by barbarian mercenaries, ſunk ſupine on beds of ſloth, and heard the trumpet of battle with diſmay.

Such indeed was the rapid change of manners, that the genius and character of the people appear to have undergone a total alteration in the ſpace of a century, and a general depravity was viſible in all orders of the ſtate. The conſuls, after having obtained their elevated rank by intrigues and bribery, undertook their campaigns either to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of conquered nations, or to plunder the provinces of the allies under the maſk of protectors and defenders. From ſuch impure ſources were derived the immenſe treaſures of Craſſus, Lucullus, and Cæſar. And as the means of corruption increaſed, ſo likewiſe in equal proportion did the diſpoſition to be corrupted. The populace of the empire were tempted to the city by the diſtribution of corn, and the frequency of public games; obſequious, indigent, and enervated by idleneſs, they were ready to follow every ambitious candidate, who was rich enough to purchaſe their votes. The laws were ſilent in the midſt of theſe abuſes, or they were liſtened to without reſpect or obedience. The magiſtrates

giſtrates beheld with approbation, or with indifference, the diſorders of the people. The adminiſtration of government under the emperors, influenced by the caprice of their tempers, was ſometimes rigid, and ſometimes relaxed: the tide of degeneracy flowed with the greateſt rapidity, and ſwept away all ranks in its current.

To increaſe this train of deſtructive evils, the mode of *education* was completely changed. In more antient times the noble matrons had taught their children the pure leſſons of morality, and kept a ſtrict watch over all their words and actions. Thus Cornelia educated the Gracchi, and Aurelia and Attia reared Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar. The minds of the noble youth were led on, ſound and uncontaminated, to the ſtudy of the liberal arts, and whatever profeſſion they followed, whether of arms, or the practice of the forum, they devoted themſelves to that ſingle purſuit, and by cloſe application embraced the whole compaſs of their particular ſtudy. But in the times of which we are ſpeaking, the children were entruſted to the care, or rather were abandoned to the arts of mean and ignorant domeſtics. The perſons chiefly employed for this purpoſe were the indigent Greeks, who flocked in great numbers to Rome, and where verſatility of talents, inſinuating manners, and groſs flattery gained them an eaſy admiſſion into the families of the great, where they ſoon raiſed themſelves to places of confidence and emolument. Corrupted by the examples, and encouraged by the indulgence

indulgence of ſuch maſters, the young men ſoon aſſumed the character of licentiouſneſs and effrontery. The ſports of the field, and the diverſions of the Circus and the Theatre, became the ſole topics of their converſation, and the darling objects of their purſuit; and no time was given to the cultivation of the liberal arts, or the ſtudy of the Roman or Grecian hiſtory [q].

Nor were their opinions upon the moſt important ſubjects leſs vitiated in early years by the progreſs of a ſpecious and deſtructive philoſophy. The principles of Epicurus had been for ſome time faſhionable in Rome; and his diſciples advancing far beyond the modeſt ſcepticiſm of the Academic ſchool, boldly denied the providence of a ſupreme Ruler of the univerſe, and openly maintained, that death was the extinction of all exiſtence. Theſe tenets gave a fatal blow to the eſtabliſhed religion, and were calculated to undermine the great ſanctions of moral obligation. The noble youths, who reſorted to Athens, and other ſeats of learning, were thus taught to deſpiſe the ceremonies, and deride the maxims of their national belief, a firm adherence to which had been the glory of their anceſtors, and had not only operated powerfully upon their martial efforts, but was cloſely connected with the civil conſtitution of the republic. This philoſophy had the recommendation of great and attracting examples to make it popular; for it was

[q] Quintil. de Oratoribus, p. 451, Ed. Lips. Juvenal, Sat. 3.

adorned with the poetical graces of Lucretius, and honoured by the commendation of Virgil; it was favoured by the ſcepticiſm of Cicero, and was embraced by the ſagacious Cæſar, and the learned and accompliſhed Atticus.

The various cauſes of her decline prepared Rome for her moſt abandoned emperors. The tame ſervility of the ſenate, and the turbulent ſpirit of the prætorian bands, ſometimes raiſed to the imperial purple the meaneſt and moſt undeſerving of the ſoldiers. Yet the corruption of principles was not ſo general, as not to make a Nero, a Tiberius, and a Caligula ſurveyed with horror and deteſtation by their contemporaries, as well as by poſterity. They were alike infamous for a profuſion, which was unbounded; for a ſenſuality, which was a diſgrace to nature; and for a vindictive rage, which was the avowed foe to liberty and virtue. From the pictures of their depravity and wanton cruelty we retire with diſguſt, and relieve our minds by contemplating the pure characters and glorious conduct of Titus, Nerva, Trajan, the Antonini, and Aurelius[r]. Such illuſtrious perſons afforded ſome ſupport to the declining ſtate, but were not capable of giving permanency to their own wiſe and prudent inſtitutions; ſince thoſe who followed, as well as thoſe who preceded them, were equally diſtinguiſhed by a want of political talents, and for the moſt flagrant abuſe of power. The faint

[r] A. C. 80—160.

and

and tranſient beams of ſunſhine ſerved only to deepen the gloom which overſpread a ſtormy atmoſphere. Their juſtice and humanity ſuſpended that downfall of the empire, which they could not prevent; but the ſparks of ancient virtue were ſo nearly extinguiſhed, that the efforts of a few individuals, eminent as they were in ſtation, and armed with ſovereign authority, could not fan them into a flame.

As the proſperity of Rome had been attended with the flouriſhing ſtate of the arts, literature and ſcience, they gradually declined with her; and the ſame change, which was viſible in the extinction of liberty and martial ſpirit, appeared equally in its effects on the intellectual powers: ignorance was the companion of corruption and ſervility.

The Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns iſſuing from the north of Europe and Aſia at length poured forth vaſt armies, to ravage every country more cultivated than their own, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſeat of government. They were drawn from their remote foreſts and cold abodes, either by a ſpirit of reſtleſs activity, and a ſenſe of injury; or they were lured by the report of the luxuries of Italy, and the delicious fruits, which abounded in that mild and genial climate.

As oft have iſſued hoſt impelling hoſt,
The blue eyed myriads from the Baltic coaſt,

The proſtrate ſouth to the deſtroyer yields
Her boaſted titles, and her golden fields;
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing roſe,
And quaff the pendant vintage, as it grows[s].

Theſe hardy barbarians ruſhed forth like the mighty waters of an impetuous torrent, and ſwept away every obſtacle[t]: their progreſs was marked by blood and fire, by deſtruction to the arts, and implacable hoſtility to civilized man. For nearly two centuries they continued the moſt deſolating ravages; and the hiſtorians of that wretched period are at a loſs for deſcription ſufficiently ſtrong, or images ſufficiently horrid, to repreſent its diſtreſs and calamity.

The condition in which the rapacious and warlike Alaric found the imperial city, ſufficiently manifeſted the degeneracy of its inhabitants[u]. It had long been the reſort of all nations, and the receptacle of thoſe, whoſe follies and vices proved the different countries of their birth. To the incapacity of a weak government, the general of the Goths oppoſed intrepidity and military ſkill. His army indeed reflected the image of the ancient Romans at that momentous period of their hiſtory, when the fruitleſs attempt of Hannibal to conquer his enemies ſerved only to draw forth the full

[s] Gray. [t] Robertſon, Charles V. vol. i. p. 6, 10, &c.
[u] A. C. 410.

energy

energy of their character. A fierce, hardy, and well-diſciplined army, had to contend, if conteſt it might be called, with a luxurious and puſillanimous race of nobles, and a populace, vile, indigent, and wretched. The conqueror found the city unprepared for his attacks; he entered it amid the ſilence of the night, and directed his march by the conflagration of palaces. The ſlaughter was dreadful, the ſpoils immenſe, and the holy faith of Chriſt alone checked the avarice and luſt of the plunderers. To complete the degradation of the imperial city, the ſons and daughters of conſuls and patricians attended at the feſtive board, and were doomed to drag the chains of the haughty Goths, who diſplayed their triumphant banner waving over the proſtrate eagle of Rome.

The riſe, aggrandizement, decline, and fall of the Roman power, are included within the compaſs of twelve centuries[x]. The mighty empire, like the majeſtic temples that adorned her capital, was broken into fragments, and divided among numerous nations. At the end of that period, by the incurſions of foreign armies, the firſt foundations of thoſe kingdoms were laid, which are now the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the hiſtory of the weſtern world. The Saxons contended ſucceſsfully with

[x] Rome was founded B. C. 753. Taken by Alaric A. C. 410. Duration of the Empire 1163. Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 235, &c.

the natives for the poſſeſſion of Britain. Gaul and Spain were divided between the Franks, Viſgoths, Sueví, and Burgundians; Africa was expoſed to the Vandals and Moors; and Italy was filled by an army of northern barbarians[7]. Conſtantinople, which continued for ſome centuries after the reign of its celebrated founder to give an imperfect repreſentation of imperial ſplendour, was finally taken by the Turks with its dependent territories. The Roman empire reſembled the Danube, which, after pouring a grand and impetuous flood, and receiving the ſupply of large rivers, is divided into various ſtreams, before it mixes with the ocean.

The Romans, illuſtrious as they were for the dignity of their character, their martial proweſs, and the extent of their empire, hold forth a ſplendid light for the guidance of mankind. Their virtues in the proſperity of the commonwealth, and their vices in its decline, furniſh examples and cautions to perſons of all ſucceeding times. In thoſe kings and emperors, who were remarkable for purity of character, monarchs may find examples worthy of their imitation; and commonwealths may be taught, from the diſorders of their factions, what limits to preſcribe to the ambition of the wealthy, and what curb to impoſe upon the

[7] For a general view of Europe at the diſſolution of the Roman empire, ſee the Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities; Warton's firſt Diſſertation on Engliſh Poetry; Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. i. chap. i. Machiavel's Hiſtory of Florence, book i. and Dalrymple's Eſſay on Feudal Property.

licentiouſneſs

licentiouſneſs of the populace. To be converſant with this important hiſtory, is to view mankind engaged in the fulleſt exerciſe of patriotiſm, courage, and talents; or to contemplate them enervated by luxury, debaſed by corruption, and ſunk into the moſt abject diſgrace.

——————— O Luxury
Bane of elated life, of affluent ſtates,
What dreary change, what ruin is not thine?
How doth thy bowl intoxicate the mind,
To the ſoft entrance of thy roſy bow'r
How doſt thou lure the fortunate and great!
Dreadful attraction! while behind thee gapes
Th' unfathomable gulph, where Aſſur lies
O'erwhelm'd, forgotten, and high-boaſting Cham,
And Elam's haughty pomp, and beauteous Greece,
And the great Queen of Earth, imperial Rome[z].

In what manner the Romans declined from their greateſt excellence of character, and how in their degeneracy of manners they involved the decay of genius, our imperfect ſketch of their hiſtory has ſhown. Let the natives of Britain, peruſing the inſtructive leſſons here preſented to them, indulge the feelings of compaſſion for the weakneſs of human nature; and let them at the ſame time collect, from ſuch edifying examples, new incitements to energy and perſeverance in every public and private virtue.

[z] DYER's Fleece.

CHAPTER IX.

The Hiſtory of Modern Europe.

AS *Government* and *Laws* are rendered more conducive to general happineſs in modern, than they ever were in ancient times; as the *Manners* of ſociety have experienced a very great improvement in proportion to the wide diffuſion of knowledge, and the facility of communication; as *Navigation* has enlarged the intercourſe of mankind by the diſcovery of a new world; and as, moreover, the light of the proteſtant Churches has diſpelled much of the darkneſs of ſuperſtition in ſome nations, and beamed with ſplendour upon others; it muſt ſurely be a ſubject of pleaſing inquiry, to inveſtigate the leading cauſes, which have produced ſuch extraordinary, ſuch extenſive, and ſuch beneficial effects.

And when we examine more cloſely the nature of theſe effects, and conſider that they have an immediate reference to our own ſituations in the world;—that they relate to the arts which *now* adorn, and the cuſtoms which *now* regulate, ſociety;—to the inſtitutions, which direct our conduct, model our manners, and influence our opinions, in all religious, as well as civil affairs;

the

the ſubject will riſe to a much higher degree of importance;—we ſhall ſee our intereſt more ſtrongly involved in it; we ſhall proſecute our reſearches with a degree of ardour proportioned to its importance, and ſhall ſet its juſt value upon the hiſtory of modern Europe.

The moſt ſtriking objects, which this hiſtory preſents to us, are,

I. The eſtabliſhment and abolition of the Feudal Syſtem. II. The hiſtory of the Cruſades. III. The inſtitution of Chivalry. IV. The Reformation. V. The revival of Claſſical Learning.

To trace the hiſtorical outlines of thoſe inſtitutions, inventions, and diſcoveries, which diſcriminate the hiſtory of modern from that of ancient Europe, is our preſent deſign. To thoſe eminent writers, who have diſcuſſed the reſpective ſubjects at large, we muſt refer for more complete information.

I. *The Feudal Syſtem.*

The inhabitants of the north of Europe and Aſia, who iſſued in great multitudes from their native forefts, during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Chriſtian æra, and who overturned the Roman empire, introduced a new ſpecies of government into the conquered countries, which is known by the name of the Feudal Syſtem. It is very remarkable,

markable, that although the Barbarians, who framed it, ſettled in their newly-acquired territories at various times, were commanded by different leaders, and ſpoke different languages; yet the ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed, with little variation, in every country in Europe. This great uniformity is peculiarly ſtriking, and has furniſhed ſome writers with an argument, that all theſe people ſprung originally from the ſame ſtock. But the fact may perhaps with more probability be attributed to the ſimilar ſtate of their manners, and the ſimilar ſituation in which they all found themſelves, on taking poſſeſſion of their new domains.

The *plan* of the *feudal* conſtitution was this:—Every freeman, or ſoldier, for the terms were at that period ſynonymous, upon receiving an allotment of conquered lands, bound himſelf to appear in arms againſt the common enemy, whenever he ſhould be called upon by his commander. This military ſervice was the condition upon which every one received, and the tenure by which he continued to poſſeſs, his lands; and this obligation was eſteemed both eaſy and honourable. The ſame ſervice, which a ſoldier owed to his officer, was due from an officer to his king. The king obliged thoſe, among whom he diſtributed the conquered lands, to repair to his ſtandard, with a number of followers, in proportion to the extent of their reſpective eſtates, and to aſſiſt him in all his expeditions. Thus a feudal kingdom conveys rather the idea of a military than a civil eſtabliſhment. The victorious

victorious army, taking their poſts in different diſtricts of a country, continued to be arranged under its proper officers, and to be ſubject to martial laws[a].

The principle of policy, upon which this ſingular eſtabliſhment was founded, was ſelf-defence. The new ſettlers in a country wiſhed to protect themſelves, not only againſt the attacks of the inhabitants, whom they had expelled from their poſſeſſions, but againſt the more formidable inroads of freſh invaders. But, unfortunately, for the happineſs of mankind, and the tranquillity of ſociety, it was replete with many evils. The powerful vaſſals of the crown ſoon acquired that land as unalienable property, which was originally a grant during pleaſure, and appropriated to themſelves titles of honour, as well as places of truſt. In proceſs of time they obtained the power of ſovereign juriſdiction, both civil and criminal, within their own domains; they exerciſed the privilege of coining money, and carried on wars againſt their private enemies. Barons poſſeſſed of ſuch enormous power diſdained to conſider themſelves as ſubjects; and the conſequence was, that a kingdom was broken into as many ſepa-

[a] See Henry's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 30. Spelman's Concilia, vol. i. p. 101. Wilſon's Concilia, p. 171. Du Cange's Gloſſary, Article *Allodium*. Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. notes; and Dalrymple's Eſſay on Feudal Property, book i. chap. 2. The ſketch, which Tacitus has given of the civil inſtitutions and polity of the ancient Germans, contains the outlines of the feudal eſtabliſhment. De Moribus Germanorum, c. xi. xii. xiii.

rate

rate principalities, as it contained powerful nobles. Innumerable cauſes of jealouſy and diſcord ſubſiſted between them, and gave riſe to conſtant wars. Every country in Europe, either waſted or kept in continual alarm during theſe feuds, was filled with caſtles and places of ſtrength, erected for the ſecurity of the deſpotic chieftain, not againſt foreign invaſion, but domeſtic hoſtilities. In the reign of Stephen of England, when the feudal ſyſtem was in its height, not leſs than a thouſand caſtles, with their dependent territories, are ſaid to have covered the ſouthern part of this iſland. Among fierce and haughty chieftains, the laws enacted by princes and magiſtrates commanded no degree of reſpect; and the right of retaliation and revenge was conſidered as an inherent privilege of their order. The eſtate of every baron was an independent territory; his caſtle was a ſtrong and well-garriſoned fortreſs, and he always conſidered himſelf as living in a ſtate of war. When provoked by injury, he met his adverſary at the head of his vaſſals in hoſtile array, and truſted to his ſword for the deciſion of the conteſt. Every man was the avenger of his own wrongs, and fought the redreſs of his grievances in ſingle combat, the regulation and ceremonies of which were formed into a ſyſtem of juriſprudence. The common people, the moſt uſeful as well as the moſt numerous part of the community, were reduced to the miſeries of ſlavery. The peaſant was conſidered as the mere produce of the ſoil, and was transferred from one lord to another, with the utenſils and cattle of his farm. The king, ſtripped of almoſt every

every prerogative, and poſſeſſing little more than the empty title of ſovereign, had neither power to protect the innocent, nor to puniſh the guilty. A general anarchy, deſtructive of all the comforts which men expect to derive from a ſtate of ſociety, prevailed. To complete and confirm theſe evils, the progreſs of time gradually fixed and rendered venerable an eſtabliſhment, which originated in violence, and was continued with every ſpecies of deſpotiſm and injuſtice—a ſyſtem which was as hoſtile to the intellectual as to the moral improvement of the mind; which baniſhed ſcience and the arts, ſunk mankind in groſs ignorance, obſcured the ſacred light of Chriſtianity in the thickeſt darkneſs of ſuperſtition, and was favourable only to the growth of thoſe ſtern virtues, which are characteriſtic of uncivilized nations. The rigour of tyranny hardened the minds of the nobles, the yoke of vaſſalage debaſed the ſpirit of the people, the generous ſentiments inſpired by a ſenſe of equality were extinguiſhed, and there was no check to ferocity and violence. Accordingly a greater number of thoſe atrocious actions, which fill the mind with aſtoniſhment and horror, occur in the hiſtory of the feudal times, than in that of any period of the ſame extent in the annals of Europe.

Such was the deplorable ſtate of ſociety from the ſeventh to the eleventh century. From that æra may be dated the return of government, laws, and manners, in a contrary direction. We ſhall hereafter notice the favourable effects of the Cruſades and

of Chivalry upon the feudal ſyſtem. In ſucceeding times a variety of cauſes began to operate, which checked the licentiouſneſs of the barons, ſoftened the ferocity of their manners, and finally put a period to their domination. The eſtabliſhment of ſtanding armies in the fifteenth century, gave more effectual authority to kings; and from that time they no longer regarded their nobles as their equals, or found it neceſſary to have recourſe to timid counſels, or feeble efforts, to control their power. They began not only to wield the ſceptre, but to brandiſh the ſword; and either checked the deſigns of their barons by intimidation, or puniſhed their rebellion by force.

Charles the ſeventh of France, urged by his deſire of expelling the Engliſh from France in the year 1445, was the firſt who adopted this meaſure; but as it was ſo repugnant to the genius of the feudal ſyſtem, and required the greateſt boldneſs to carry it into execution, he retained a large body of forces in his ſervice, and appointed funds for their regular payment. The principal nobility ſoon reſorted to his ſtandard, and looked up to him as the judge, and the rewarder of merit. The feudal militia, compoſed of men of rank and military talents, who were only occaſionally called out, were in time regarded with contempt, by ſoldiers accuſtomed to the operations of regular ſervice. This example of breaking the independent power of the barons was followed by the politic Henry VII. of England. He undermined that edifice, which it was not prudent

dent to attack with open force. By judicious laws he permitted his nobles to break the entail of their eſtates, and to expoſe them to ſale. He prohibited them from keeping numerous bands of retainers, which had rendered them formidable to his predeceſſors. By encouraging agriculture and commerce, and all the arts of peace during a long reign, and by enforcing a vigorous and impartial execution of the laws, he not only removed many immediate evils reſulting from the feudal ſyſtem, but provided againſt their future return. The influence of his ſalutary plans was gradually felt, and they contributed more and more, in proceſs of time, to the good order, proſperity, and general welfare of his ſubjects.

II. *The Cruſades.*

Few expeditions are more extraordinary than thoſe which were undertaken by the cruſaders, for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the power of the Turks. If we conſider the great numbers of Europeans, who were engaged in them, or their long and obſtinate perſeverance in the ſame deſign, notwithſtanding an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of hardſhips, loſſes, and defeats; and if we reflect upon the important conſequences, with which theſe events were attended, both to themſelves and their deſcendants; the hiſtory of the cruſades, including a period of one hundred and ſeventy-five years, from A. D. 1095 to 1270, will be found to merit very particular regard, and to follow in proper order our ſurvey of the feudal ſyſtem.

From the æra of the crusades may traced the diffusion of several kinds of knowledge, and the various improvements of society in manners, commerce, and arts. And from the communication of the western with the eastern nations, arose a succession of causes, which with different degrees of influence, and with more or less rapidity, contributed to abolish anarchy and confusion, and to introduce order and improvement into society.

Judea, or the holy Land, was the highest object of veneration to the Christians of the middle ages. There had lived the Son of God; there he had performed the most astonishing miracles; and there he had suffered death for the sins of the world. His holy sepulchre was preserved at Jerusalem; and as a degree of veneration was annexed to this consecrated place, nearly approaching to idolatry, a visit to it was regarded as the most meritorious service, which could be paid to heaven; and it was eagerly frequented by crowds of pilgrims from every part of Europe. If it be natural to the human mind to survey those spots, which have been the abodes of illustrious persons, or the scenes of great transactions, with delight and veneration, what must have been the ardour with which the Christians of those times, the ruling passion of whose mind was religious enthusiasm, regarded a country, which the Almighty had selected as the residence of his chosen people, and the place where his Son had shed his precious blood, to expiate the sins, and accomplish the redemption of mankind! The zealous travellers

to Paleſtine were long expoſed to the inſults, extortions, and cruelty of the ferocious and hoſtile Infidels: but at length their complaints rouſed the Europeans to attempt their expulſion. Peter, ſurnamed the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, was the firſt mover of this great project [b]. Armed with the authority of Pope Urban II. he traverſed the countries of Europe, and with rude but pathetic eloquence deſcribed the injuries he had received in his pilgrimage to the holy ſepulchre. He quickly kindled the ardour of perſons of all ranks. The firſt converts to this active miſſionary became the warmeſt advocates for the expedition. Great numbers, chiefly conſiſting of peaſants, ill-provided with neceſſaries, and whoſe ignorance magnified the hopes and diminiſhed the dangers of the undertaking, periſhed in the foreſts of Hungary, or the plains of Aſia. A pyramid of bones, erected by Solyman, the emperor of the Turks, near the city of Nice, informed their followers of the place of their defeat. Of the firſt cruſaders three hundred thouſand are ſaid to have fallen a ſacrifice to their fanaticiſm, before a ſingle city was reſcued from the Infidels. More ſtrongly ſtimulated, rather than deterred by this cataſtrophe, Baldwin, earl of Flanders; Godfrey of Bouillon; Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the King of France; Raymond, count

[b] A. D. 1095 to 1099. Gibbon, vol. vi. cap. 58, &c. Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 292, &c. Hiſtory of Modern Europe, vol. i. letter 24, &c. Introduction to the Literary Hiſtory of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rapin, vol. i. p. 244, &c.

of Thoulouſe; Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldeſt ſon of William the Conqueror; Bohemond and Tancred, who were likewiſe princes of the Norman race, ſet forth upon this enterpriſe: all were chiefs of high renown, famed for their proweſs in arms, and ſtimulated by the ſame intrepid and fanatical ſpirit. They were followed by their numerous adherents and vaſſals, whoſe ſervices were either prompted by zeal and attachment to their reſpective lords, or purchaſed with rewards and promiſes[c].

Conſtantinople was at that time the largeſt as well as the moſt beautiful city in Europe. It alone retained the image of ancient elegance, in manners and in arts. It was the place where manufactures of the moſt curious fabric were wrought. It was the mart of Europe for all the commodities of the Eaſt, and the ſeat of empire, elegance, and magnificence. Such was the place appointed as a general rendezvous for all the cruſaders. Several contem-

[c] "The cruſaders wore a croſs moſt commonly on their ſhoulders in gold, or ſilk, or cloth, ſewed on their garments. In the firſt cruſade, all were red; in the third, the French alone preſerved that colour, while green croſſes were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the Engliſh." Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 8. "The croſs was inſcribed by ſome zealots on their ſkin; an hot iron, or indelible liquor, was applied to perpetuate the mark." Idem. p. 17.

"Armorial bearings were invented to reward merit, and diſtinguiſh families; and the ſcience of heraldry may be traced back to Paleſtine." Introd. to the Hiſt. of the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries.

porary

porary writers were witneſſes to this ſingular aſſembly of different nations; and they give a lively picture of the characters and manners of each people. When the polite natives of the metropolis of the Eaſt ſpeak of the northern warriors, they deſcribe them as barbarous, illiterate, fierce, and ſavage; and they ſometimes inveigh againſt them with great violence, and relate inſtances of their ferocity and devaſtation in terms not unlike thoſe, which preceding hiſtorians had employed in deſcribing the incurſions of the Goths and Vandals, when they overturned the Roman empire. But on the other hand, the cruſaders, while they deſpiſed the effeminate manners and unwarlike character of the Greeks, were ſurpriſed at the wealth and magnificence of their metropolis.

After ſuffering various hardſhips and loſſes, the cruſaders at length reached the walls of Jeruſalem. Forty days were employed in the ſiege of the holy city: at the expiration of which, they took it by aſſault; and forgetful of the leſſons of mercy taught by their great maſter, whoſe enſign they bore, they indulged in the rage of promiſcuous ſlaughter, and put all Jews and Turks, of every age, and of either ſex, to the ſword. The events, which happened during this romantic expedition, and the heroic exploits performed by the champions of the Croſs, and their Mahometan foes, furniſh the ſubject of the celebrated Poem of Taſſo, the moſt pleaſing memorial which is left to us of this enterpriſe. Godfrey of Bouillon, the moſt worthy of the heroes

of Chriſtendom, was proclaimed King of Jeruſalem. In imitation of his Saviour, he was crowned with thorns; he rejected the appendages of royalty, and contented himſelf with the modeſt title of Defender, and Baron of the holy ſepulchre[d]. His companions, with the exception only of the gallant Tancred and his adherents, returned to Europe: after whoſe departure the Turks inſulted the garriſon of Jeruſalem: and the ſhort reign of Godfrey, which continued only for one year, did not give him time to ſecure the ſtability of his new kingdom. In vain did the knights of the hoſpital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon, who in their aſſociations blended the diſcipline of a monaſtic with the hardſhips of a military life, endeavour to ſupport the tottering throne of Baldwin, his ſucceſſor. Surrounded by the exaſperated and reſtleſs Mahometans, he was compelled to ſolicit a reinforcement from the kingdoms of Europe for the ſupport of his declining power.

The fruits reaped in this firſt cruſade ill repaid its great loſs and expence, and were compriſed within the little territory of Jeruſalem, the dominion of which was bounded by the term of fourſcore years. The holy war, however, continued to be recommended in the letters of the Pope, and the ſermons of the Clergy, with unabated ardour and zeal. It was ſtill repreſented to the people as the cauſe of God and of Chriſt, in which death

[d] A. D. 1099.

would

would confer the merit of martyrdom, and paradiſe would be equally the reward of defeat, or of victory.

St. Bernard, famed for his eloquence and enthuſiaſtic piety, and the great influence, which he obtained amongſt the people, flouriſhed at the beginning of the twelfth century. Armed with the authority of Pope Eugene III. he rekindled the expiring flame of military fanaticiſm. With a voice, that was in every place obeyed without delay, he called the nations to the protection of the holy ſepulchre. The fame of his pretended miracles and predictions, removed every doubt of ſucceſs from the minds of his credulous hearers; inſomuch, that all who were able to bear arms were eager to participate the glory of the pious warfare. Bernard was invited to become a leader in the expedition, which he ſo zealouſly recommended; but he prudently declined an appointment, which would eventually have expoſed him to the ridicule, and probably to the reſentment of his followers. He was more fortunate in advancing the intereſts of the Church, than in the ſucceſs of his projects, or the fulfilment of his predictions. The court of Rome profited by his labours, and canonized his memory. Conrad III. emperor of Germany, and Louis VII. king of France, were the principal agents in the ſecond cruſade[e]. From the hands of Bernard they received the croſs, with aſſurances, that

[e] A. D. 1147.

he had authority from heaven to promiſe them victory. Their cavalry was compoſed of one hundred and forty thouſand knights, and their immediate attendants; and if even the light-armed troops, the women and children, the prieſts and monks, be excluded from the computation of their effective forces, their number will ariſe to four hundred thouſand ſouls. The fatal errors of their predeceſſors ſuggeſted the ſafer expedient of a voyage, in preference to a march into Paleſtine; and the ſea-ports of Genoa, Piſa, and Venice, were from this time frequented by the cruſaders for that purpoſe. In the Italian ſtates they found more cultivated manners, and greater knowledge, than their own countries could boaſt; ſo that in them, as well as in the metropolis of the Eaſt, the moſt ſtriking examples of civilization and refinement were furniſhed to theſe rude adventurers.

The event of this enterpriſe proved ſtill more diſaſtrous to the cauſe of the cruſaders than their firſt expedition. Manuel, the emperor of the Greeks, is accuſed by his own ſubjects of giving intelligence of their plans to the Turkiſh Sultan, and of providing them with treacherous guides. The conduct of the Chriſtian leaders was dictated by no ſound policy, or vigorous co-operation. Inſtead of cruſhing the common foe by a preconcerted attack at the ſame time on different ſides of his territories, Louis of France had ſcarcely paſſed the Boſphorus, when he was met by the returning Emperor, who had loſt the greateſt part of his army

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in a battle on the banks of the Meander. The king of France advanced through the ſame country to a ſimilar fate; and was glad to ſhelter the relics of his army in the ſea-port of Satalia. At Jeruſalem theſe unfortunate monarchs met to lament their ſad reverſes of fortune. Their martial trains, the ſlender remnants of mighty armies, were joined to the Chriſtian powers of Syria; and a fruitleſs ſiege of Damaſcus was the final effort of the ſecond cruſade.

The third, undertaken by Frederic Barbaroſſa, emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France, was moſt remarkable for the victories of Saladin, the temperate, brave, and generous chief of the Saracens. His pretenſions to commendation and renown were much better founded than thoſe of Philip of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion. His life exhibited a ſeries of actions, which his rivals in arms would have done well to have imitated, and which, far from diſgracing, would have reflected honour upon the profeſſion of a Chriſtian. He appears not to have been deficient either in literature or ſcience; and, in the progreſs of his conqueſts, he reſpected the arts. When he retook Jeruſalem, he treated his captives not only with clemency, but even with kindneſs. We muſt not, however, deprive Richard of England of his due praiſe for military proweſs, as he diſplayed, upon all occaſions of danger and enterpriſe, the moſt heroic courage. He took the city of Acre, a place which has in our own times been the ſcene of the

undaunted valour and ſteady perſeverance of the natives of Britain; and among other ſpoils, eſteemed of ineſtimable value in an age of groſs ſuperſtition, he recovered ſome of the wood, which was ſaid to belong to the croſs of Chriſt. The bravery of Richard continued for many years to be proverbial in the Eaſt; his terrific name was uſed by the Syrian mother to ſilence the refractory child, and by the rider to check the ſtarting horſe. The perfidious conduct of Philip of France, in taking advantage of the abſence of Richard to invade his territories in Normandy, in direct violation of his ſolemn oath, obliged him to conclude a truce with Saladin, who was allowed to retain poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, on condition, that the holy ſepulchre ſhould be open to the viſits of Chriſtian pilgrims without moleſtation or tribute. When the treaty was concluded, the Engliſh monarch informed Saladin, that he might depend upon his return to try once more to recover the Holy Land. The Sultan, with a politeneſs which would have done honour to the moſt refined age, replied, that if it muſt be his misfortune to loſe that part of his dominions, he had rather it ſhould be to the king of England, than to any other monarch in the world[f]. The gallant Richard embarked for Europe to endure a long captivity, and find an early grave; and the ſpace of a few months after his departure from the Holy Land terminated the life of Saladin.

[f] Rapin, vol. i. p. 252. fol.

Hiſtorians

Hiſtorians have recorded the details of no leſs than *ſeven* different cruſades, including a period of an hundred and ſeventy-five years; in which time numerous armies were led to diſgrace the Chriſtian name in the Eaſt. The two laſt cruſades were undertaken by Louis the ninth, king of France, whoſe fleet conveyed a well-appointed and numerous army to the coaſts of Egypt[g]; and there, after an ineffectual diſplay of valour, he was made priſoner, with the greateſt part of his nobles. All who could not redeem their lives at an exceſſive ranſom, were maſſacred by the barbarous Mahometans, and the walls of Cairo were covered with Chriſtian heads. The king of France was loaded with chains; but his deliverance, with that of many of his ſoldiers, was obtained by the reſtitution of Damietta, and the payment of an immenſe ſum of gold. After ſixteen years of repoſe, this enterpriſing and bigotted monarch again embarked from France, and undertook the wild project of baptizing the king of Tunis[h]. On the barren ſands of Africa, his army exhauſted by fatigue, and ſinking under the influence of a burning climate, was quickly reduced to inconſiderable numbers. Louis expired in his tent; and at the moment of his death, his ſon and ſucceſſor gave the ſignal for retreat.

After the loſs of Jeruſalem, the city of Acre, from which it is diſtant about 70 miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Chriſtians. There the dif-

[g] A. D. 1248. [h] A. D. 1270.

ferent

ferent powers of Europe, and the Maſters of the Hoſpital, the Temple, and the Teutonic order, aſſumed an independent command over a promiſcuous multitude of pilgrims and fugitives. To avenge the plunder of ſome Mahometan villages, and the murder of ſome Syrian merchants, the ſultan Khalil beſieged and ſtormed it, and 60,000 Chriſtians were doomed to death or captivity. The loſs of Acre was in fact the loſs of the Holy Land;* and the memorable year 1291 terminated the folly, fanaticiſm, and unprofitable valour of the Chriſtians in the cruſades.

That theſe wars were upon the whole diſaſtrous and unfortunate, can be no ſubject of ſurpriſe, when we conſider the manners and the diſpoſitions of thoſe who engaged in them, and the difficulties, with which they were obliged to contend. Actuated by romantic fervour, and confident of victory, their plans were always uniform; and, in their ſubſequent expeditions, they rarely profited by the miſcarriage of thoſe that preceded. Jealous and vindictive, they agreed only in wearing the badge of the Croſs, and were torn by inteſtine diviſions and feuds: they therefore never co-operated with perfect cordiality, when they reached the field of action. Depredation and bloodſhed marked their ſteps in the countries through which they paſſed; and they rouſed the vengeance, inſtead of conciliating the affections, of the Chriſtian Greeks, as well as of the Mahometan Syrians.

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The remoteneſs of Paleſtine from Europe, and the nature of the climate, ought likewiſe not to be diſregarded. The cruſaders, whether they marched by way of Conſtantinople, or embarked from the ports of Italy, if we conſider their tota inexperience in remote expeditions, muſt have been greatly diminiſhed in numbers, and weakened by fatigue, before they reached the field of action. The burning heat of Syria, the want of proviſions, the ſcarcity of water, and the conſequent diſeaſes muſt have deprived them of much of that energy and vigour, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to their ſucceſs. They were oppoſed by intrepid and active foes, as enthuſiaſtic in the cauſe of their Prophet, as the Chriſtians were in behalf of their Redeemer: acting in concert, ſuperior in the various arts of war, fighting in their own country, and able to avail themſelves of all its advantages and reſources.

Theſe wars diſplay in the ſtrongeſt light the influence of the Papal power. The pontiffs ſummoned the princes of Europe to arms, ſent them to conquer new kingdoms, in order to enlarge the dominions of the holy ſee, regulated even beyond the boundaries of the ocean the conduct of kings and emperors, and thus exerciſed a ſupreme and univerſal ſovereignty.

If we endeavour to trace the various cauſes, which led to the cruſades, we ſhall find, that the opinions, manners, and prejudices of the Europeans of

of the middle ages, all conſpired to precipitate them into theſe enterprizes, without any conſideration of the injuſtice, inhumanity, or impolicy of their conduct.

Vain would it have been for any enlightened Chriſtian at that time to have urged, in order to quench the flame of fanaticiſm, and ſpare the effuſion of blood, that the cruſaders had no right to wreſt Judea from the hands of its poſſeſſors; and that their zeal for the recovery of Bethlehem, the place where the Son of God was born, or Mount Calvary, where he was crucified, could not juſtify their violation of the moral precepts of his Goſpel. To ſuch arguments as theſe the ſuperſtitious would not have liſtened; the cauſe was too deeply implicated with their darling paſſions and prejudices, to be decided by an appeal to ſober reaſon, or the genuine dictates of Chriſtianity.

Their religious enthuſiaſm was greatly augmented by their paſſion for war. Commerce, manufactures, and arts, were at that time, if conſidered as general and national, occupations in a ſtate of infancy, and the maſs of the people were deſtitute of regular employment. They caught with eagerneſs at any occaſion, which relieved them from a ſtate of inactivity, and afforded room for the indulgence of their favourite inclinations. In the time of the cruſades, chivalry began to flouriſh; and thoſe knights, who were inſpired with a romantic deſire to travel in queſt of adventures, turned their eyes with eagerneſs

neſs to Aſia, which promiſed to open ſuch new ſcenes of enterprize and glory, as could not be found in Europe. Perſons of inferior rank flattered themſelves with the moſt ſanguine expectations of conqueſt, were confident that victory would attend their ſteps, and that they ſhould return home loaded with the ſpoils of the Eaſt.

Such was the origin of this ſpirit of enterprize. The great privileges and immunities granted to the cruſaders, may ſerve to account for its long continuance in Europe. The Popes proclaimed a complete indulgence and pardon for crimes to every one who would take up arms in the cauſe. Of this ſacrifice to licentiouſneſs and immorality, the profligate and vicious took advantage, and eagerly embraced a profeſſion, which placed war, plunder, and conqueſt, in the liſt of duties. If they ſucceeded in this undertaking, they were aſſured that abundant riches would enable them to live happily on earth; and if they fell victims to a ſervice ſo meritorious, they were perſuaded that the gates of heaven would be open to them, and that, without requiring any other proof of their obedience to the laws of Chriſtianity, they ſhould obtain the crown of martyrdom.

There was another motive, which operated as a ſtrong inducement to the multitudes who aſſumed the badge of the Croſs. At the cloſe of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, it was the prevailing opinion, that the world would ſhortly

come to an end, and that the Saviour of mankind would make his ſecond appearance on mount Calvary. This was the ſubject of extenſive alarm and anxious expectation; and the pilgrims to the Holy Land ſet out from Europe, with a determination to die there, or to wait the advent of the Lord.

When we conſider theſe various cauſes as gradually operating, for a conſiderable ſpace of time, upon the minds of the credulous, the ſuperſtitious, and the adventurous, we ſhall be leſs ſurpriſed at the vaſt multitudes who reſorted to the ſtandard of the Croſs, erected in the firſt cruſade by Urban the ſecond, or who, in ſucceeding expeditions, regardleſs of the defeats and loſſes of their predeceſſors, trod in their ſteps to meet the ſame fate.

The conſtant demand of recruits to ſupply the armies deſtined for the Holy Land, was very hurtful to the population of Europe; and the evils reſulting from this drain of its inhabitants continued to be felt for a conſiderable time. Few diſadvantages, however, could ariſe from getting rid of a multitude of perſons, whoſe chief delight conſiſted in rapine and plunder; or who, for want of the employments furniſhed by manufactures, trade, and commerce, lived in idleneſs and poverty.

Rude and ignorant as the cruſaders were, they could not travel through and continue in ſo many intereſting countries with indifference; or behold their various cuſtoms and inſtitutions, without acquiring

nobility declined. The great cities of Italy, which had begun to turn their attention towards commerce, were impatient to ſhake off the yoke of their inſolent lords, and to eſtabliſh ſuch a government, as would make property ſecure, and the exerciſe of induſtry ſafe and eaſy. They purchaſed or extorted large immunities and grants from the emperors of Germany; and other countries, particularly France, followed their example. The great barons were eager to lay hold of this new expedient for raiſing money by the ſales of charters of independence and enfranchiſement to the towns within their domains; and, in order to procure immediate relief for their exigencies, they diſregarded the conſequences which might reſult from the eſtabliſhment, and the aſcendancy of municipal power. Thus commenced the privileges granted to corporations, and the rights acquired by communities of citizens. The benefits, which accrued to the public at large by theſe conceſſions, were of the higheſt importance, as they were favourable to regularity and good order, to the extenſion of freedom, and the exertions of diligence, the more exact and uniform adminiſtration of juſtice, and the comfort and happineſs of the inferior claſſes of ſociety. Thus we may obſerve the beneficial effects of the cruſades, in producing a new order of things, and erecting the firſt ſtrong and durable barrier againſt the licentiouſneſs, rapine, diſcord, and tyranny of the Feudal Syſtem.

importing into Europe. From this period is dated the introduction of ſilk and ſugar, which were conveyed into Italy from Greece and Egypt; and the advantages which reſulted from a more enlarged and adventurous traffic to the Piſans, the Genoeſe, and the Venetians, who laid the foundation of the modern commercial ſyſtem. The cruſaders began that intercourſe with the Eaſt, which under the pacific forms of commerce has continued with little interruption ever ſince. On their return to Europe, they introduced a new taſte in buildings, a more ſuperb diſplay of magnificence on public occaſions, the rich manufactures of Aſia, together with a more romantic ſpirit of enterprize, and the firſt improvements in learning and ſcience.

The moſt beneficial effects of the cruſades were viſible in the alteration, which they occaſioned in the ſtate of property, by the emancipation of vaſſals from the tyranny of their lords, and by increaſing the growing independence of the feudal tenants. Many of the great barons, unable to ſupport the expences incurred by their expeditions to Paleſtine, ſold their hereditary poſſeſſions. The monarchs of different countries took advantage of theſe opportunities of annexing conſiderable territories to their dominions, and purchaſed them at a ſmall expence. The fiefs likewiſe of thoſe barons who died in the holy wars without heirs, reverted to their reſpective ſovereigns; and by theſe poſſeſſions being taken from one ſcale, and thrown into the other, the regal power increaſed in proportion as that of the nobility

nobility declined. The great cities of Italy, which had begun to turn their attention towards commerce, were impatient to ſhake off the yoke of their inſolent lords, and to eſtabliſh ſuch a government, as would make property ſecure, and the exerciſe of induſtry ſafe and eaſy. They purchaſed or extorted large immunities and grants from the emperors of Germany; and other countries, particularly France, followed their example. The great barons were eager to lay hold of this new expedient for raiſing money by the ſales of charters of independence and enfranchiſement to the towns within their domains; and, in order to procure immediate relief for their exigencies, they diſregarded the conſequences which might reſult from the eſtabliſhment, and the aſcendancy of municipal power. Thus commenced the privileges granted to corporations, and the rights acquired by communities of citizens. The benefits, which accrued to the public at large by theſe conceſſions, were of the higheſt importance, as they were favourable to regularity and good order, to the extenſion of freedom, and the exertions of diligence, the more exact and uniform adminiſtration of juſtice, and the comfort and happineſs of the inferior claſſes of ſociety. Thus we may obſerve the beneficial effects of the cruſades, in producing a new order of things, and erecting the firſt ſtrong and durable barrier againſt the licentiouſneſs, rapine, diſcord, and tyranny of the Feudal Syſtem.

III. *The Inſtitution of Chivalry.*

Although the extravagancies of knight-errantry, and the marvellous and incredible ſtories related in the old romances of the Seven Champions of Chriſtendom, Sir Launcelot, Amadis de Gaul, King Arthur, and the noble Knights of the Round Table, who went forth in ſearch of adventures into all parts of the world, have been made the entertaining ſubjects of burleſque deſcription, particularly in the well-known works of Cervantes, Rabelais, and Butler; yet we muſt not miſtake imaginary for real chivalry[1]. The former exiſted only in the old romances, and as ſuch was the object at which theſe celebrated writers aimed their ſucceſsful ridicule and ſatire: but we ſhall find, on examining the origin and progreſs of the latter, that it was a noble and a beneficial inſtitution, the reſult of an enlightened policy, conſidering the times in which it was eſtabliſhed; that it increaſed the glory of the nations in which it flouriſhed; it enabled the nobility and gentry of Europe to reſiſt the military enthuſiaſm of the Saracens and Turks; and had a very powerful effect in alleviating the evils of the feudal ſyſtem, and refining the manners of the higher ranks of ſociety. In times when robbery, oppreſſion, bar-

[1] "The Duke d'Alva ſaid that Don Quixote would ruin Spain; though in truth the ridicule of that ingenious book is not pointed againſt the ſpirit of chivalry, but againſt the abſurd repreſentation of it in the Spaniſh romances."

Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. iii. p. 54.

barity,

barity, and licentiouſneſs, prevailed in moſt of the countries of Europe, it ſupplied in many inſtances, although imperfectly, the place of law; and in the hands of valour, was the inſtrument of humanity and juſtice.

If chivalry be conſidered only as a ſimple ceremony, by which the noble youths who were deſtined for war received their firſt arms, the cuſtom was known among the ancient Germans, and was eſtabliſhed in France in the reign of Charlemagne, at the commencement of the ninth century. That emperor ſent to Aquitain for his ſon Louis, and preſented him with a ſword, and all the equipage of a warrior. William of Malmeſbury mentions that about the ſame time, king Alfred preſented his grandſon Athelſtan with a ſword, and a rich belt with a crimſon robe, as the enſigns of knighthood. But if we look upon chivalry as a dignity, which gave the firſt military rank, and which was conferred by a particular kind of inveſtiture, attended with appropriate ceremonies, and ratified by a ſolemn oath, it would be difficult to trace it to a more remote period than the eleventh century[k].

France claims the honour of giving this inſtitution its ſpecific character at the time when that

[k] Memoires ſur l'ancienne Chevalerie par de la Carne de St. Palaye. Academ. des Inſcriptions, tom. xx. p. 597, &c. The ingenious dialogue "on Chivalry and Romance," by the Biſhop of Worceſter, led me to this copious ſource of information, from which I have derived the greateſt part of my ſtatement. See Warton on Spenſer and Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. ii. p. 232.

kingdom was recovering from the diſorders, which followed the extinction of the ſecond race of its monarchs. The royal authority began again to be reſpected, laws were enacted, corporations were founded, and the numerous fiefs held by the great barons under the crown, were governed with greater regularity. It was in this ſtate of affairs, that the ſovereigns and the great lords were deſirous of ſtrengthening the feudal ties by adding to the ceremony of doing homage, that of giving arms to their young vaſſals, previous to their firſt military expeditions. It is highly probable, that by conferring the ſame honourable diſtinction upon other perſons, who did not hold any lands under them, but who offered their ſervices from motives of eſteem, or the deſire of military renown, the ſovereigns and great barons availed themſelves of this expedient to ſecure the co-operation of new warriors, who were ready to follow their ſtandard upon all occaſions, when they could only rely upon their own dependants to ſerve them in certain diſtricts for a limited time. They received with joy theſe brave volunteers, who, by increaſing their forces, gave additional ſtrength to their power; and as every knight had the privilege of creating other knights, the ſovereign exerciſed, without exciting jealouſy, a privilege, which he poſſeſſed in common with others. Every gentleman who was deſigned for the profeſſion of arms, was trained by a long preparatory courſe of diſcipline and ſervice in ſome noble family, and was during his youth the companion of ſome warrior of renown.

renown. The ceremonies which attended his knighthood were ſolemn and impreſſive. They combined the rights of religion with the forms of feudal duty; and reſembled the mode of admitting a proſelyte into the church, as well as that of a vaſſal doing homage for a fief. The candidate for this diſtinction, accompanied by his ſponſors and his prieſt, paſſed the night previous to his initiation in watching his arms, and in the duties of prayer. The next morning he repaired to the bath, the water of which was intended to ſerve as an emblem of the purity of his profeſſion. He then walked to the neareſt church, clothed in white garments, and preſented his ſword to the miniſter officiating at the altar, who returned it to him with his benediction. After taking the accuſtomed oaths to his ſovereign, or feudal chief, he was inveſted by the attendant knights and ladies with certain parts of his armour. He was firſt preſented with gilt ſpurs[1], a coat of mail, and gauntlets; and laſtly he was begirt with a ſword. The ſovereign then, riſing from the throne, conferred upon him, whilſt kneeling, the honour of knighthood, by giving him three ſtrokes with the flat part of a drawn ſword upon his ſhoulders or neck. He then ſaluted the young warrior, and pronounced theſe words: "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight: be brave, bold,

[1] "Eſquires were not allowed to wear any gold in their dreſs, although knights were from hence, as well as from wearing gilt ſpurs, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Equites Aurati*."

Lord Lyttelton, Hen. II. v. 2. p. 236.

and loyal." His horſe and the remaining part of his armour were afterwards preſented to him, and the ceremony was concluded with a coſtly banquet[m].

Important and numerous were the privileges attached to this profeſſion of arms, and its duties were at once arduous and indiſpenſable. To protect the ladies was an eſſential part of them. Incapable of taking arms for the preſervation of their property, and deſtitute of the means to prove the purity of their characters, if attacked by malevolence or ſlander, they would frequently in thoſe uncivilized times, when law and juſtice were ſilenced by violence and force, have ſeen their lands become a prey to ſome tyrannical neighbour, or have had their reputation blaſted by the breath of calumny, if ſome knight had not come forward in their defence. To the ſuccour of the diſtreſſed, the protection of orphans, the emancipation of captives, and the chaſtiſement of oppreſſion, he likewiſe dedicated his ſword and his life. If he failed in a ſcrupulous attention to theſe benevolent offices, he was looked upon as deſerting the moſt ſolemn obligations, and was degraded from his rank with public marks of diſgrace. If he performed them with activity and ſpirit, he was regarded as an honour to his profeſſion, and his renown was ſpread over every part of Europe.

In the character of a true knight during the

[m] Palaye, p. 666, &c.

golden

golden age of chivalry, we behold an aſſemblage of virtues, which command our eſteem and admiration, and confer the moſt honourable diſtinction upon human nature. His air was noble, his deportment manly, and his manners condeſcending and gracious to all. His promiſe was inviolable and ſacred; and he chaſtiſed that falſehood in others, which was the peculiar object of his abhorrence. His love of arms was ſoftened by the refinements of courteſy, the fair offspring of that high-born and noble ſociety, which he enjoyed in the caſtles of the great. His profeſſions of attachment and ſervice were invariably ſincere; and all his actions were dictated by courage, and guided by honour. He was as ambitious to render his name illuſtrious by affability, probity, generoſity, and benevolence, as by the extent and number of his expeditions, trophies, and victories. By ſuch conduct were thoſe knights ſignalized, whom their contemporaries celebrated as the faireſt ornaments of chivalry, and whoſe renown has been tranſmitted through all ſucceeding ages. Such were Edward the black prince, the Chevalier Bayard, and Sir Philip Sidney.

Edward the black prince was accompliſhed, valiant, and amiable. One anecdote of his behaviour will be ſufficient to prove, that he was as moderate in the uſe of victory, as he was great in obtaining it. "Soon after the glorious battle of Poictiers, in 1356, he landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourſe of people of all ranks and

ſtations. His priſoner, John King of France, was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white ſteed, diſtinguiſhed by its ſize and beauty, and by the richneſs of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his ſide in meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. In this ſituation, more glorious than all the inſolent parade of a Roman triumph, he paſſed through the ſtreets of London, and preſented the King of France to his father, who received him with the ſame courteſy, as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly viſit. It is impoſſible, on reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which reſulted from the otherwiſe whimſical principles of Chivalry, and which gave, even in thoſe rude times, ſome ſuperiority even over people of a more cultivated age and nation[a]."

The *Chevalier Bayard*, the valourous and diſtinguiſhed companion of Charles the 8th, Louis the 12, and Francis the 1ſt, in their wars, flouriſhed at the beginning of the 16th century. After taking the city of Breſſe, he received a large ſum from his hoſt, for ſaving his houſe from being plundered. Of this money he generouſly made a preſent to his two daughters who brought it. In the following winter he was quartered at Grenoble, near a young lady of good family, but of indigent circumſtances: her beauty inflamed his love, and her ſituation gave him hopes of being able to gra-

[a] Hume, vol. iii. p. 460.

tify

tify it. Her mother, urged by poverty, accepted his propoſals, and compelled her reluctant daughter to viſit him. As ſoon as ſhe was introduced into his preſence, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and with ſtreaming eyes beſought him not to diſhonour an unfortunate damſel, whom it was more conſiſtent with a perſon of his virtuous character to protect. "Riſe," exclaimed the Chevalier, "you ſhall quit this place as innocent as you entered it, but more fortunate." He inſtantly conducted her home, reproved her mother, and gave the daughter a marriage portion of 600 piſtoles. This conqueſt he gained over himſelf at the age of twenty-ſix, when in the ſituation of the great Scipio Africanus, he was moſt expoſed to temptation, as "juvenis, & cœlebs, & victor." At the battle of Marignan againſt the Swiſs, in 1515, he fought by the ſide of Francis the 1ſt, and ſo impreſſed was that monarch with the high opinion of his proweſs, that he received from his hand the honour of knighthood. Being once aſked what poſſeſſions a nobleman had beſt leave to his ſon, he replied, "ſuch as are leaſt expoſed to the power of time or human force—*Wiſdom* and *Virtue*." At the retreat of the French at Rebec, he received a mortal wound, and with his laſt breath requeſted his Eſquire to inform the King, "that the only regret he felt on leaving the world, was that he could ſerve him no longer." He then requeſted to be placed under a tree facing the enemy, and then expired. He was called the "Knight without

fear

fear and without reproach," and no one could have a better claim to ſo excellent a character.

Sir Philip Sidney, deſcended from John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland by the mother's ſide, was born at Penſhurt, in Kent, 1554, and died at the age of 32. During his education at Shrewſbury, and Oxford, he made an aſtoniſhing proficiency in all branches of learning. His conduct was upon all occaſions ſuch as to do honour to a true Knight. He could not brook the leaſt affront, even from perſons of the higheſt rank, as he proved by his ſpirited behaviour to the haughty Earl of Oxford, a nobleman very high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth. This quarrel occaſioned his retirement from court, during which he wrote his Romance called Arcadia, which he dedicated to his ſiſter, the counteſs of Pembroke. At the grand tournament held in 1581, for the entertainment of Anjou, when he came to London to ſolicit the Queen in marriage, Sir Philip went through his feats of arms with great ability, and gained ſingular commendation. Such was his fame for relieving all who were in diſtreſs, that when the Spaniards had ſeized the kingdom of Portugal, Don Antonio, the chief competitor for the crown, applied to him for his aſſiſtance. He was appointed Governor of Flushing, one of the towns delivered by the Dutch to the Queen, and in ſeveral actions with the enemy, behaved with extraordinary courage, and with ſuch mature judgment, as would have done credit to the moſt experienced commanders.

manders. His high renown and great deſerts were ſo well known throughout Europe, that he was put in nomination for the crown of Poland upon the death of Stephen Batori, but the Queen refuſed to further his promotion. On the 22d of September, 1586, being ſent out to intercept a convoy that was advancing to Zutphen, he fell into an ambuſcade, and received a fatal wound in the thigh. In his ſad progreſs from the field of battle, paſſing by the reſt of the army, where his uncle, Robert Earl of Leiceſter was, and being thirſty with exceſſive loſs of blood, he called for drink, which was ſoon brought him: but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he ſaw a poor ſoldier carried along, who had been wounded at the ſame time, eagerly fixing his eyes upon it. As ſoon as Sir Philip perceived his inclination, he delivered the bottle to him with theſe words—"Thy neceſſity is greater than mine." This action diſcovered a diſpoſition ſo tender, a mind ſo fortified againſt pain, a heart ſo overflowing with generoſity to relieve diſtreſs in oppoſition to the moſt urgent call of his own neceſſities, that none can read a detail of it without the higheſt admiration. Finding himſelf paſt all hope of recovery, he prepared for death with the greateſt compoſure, and aſſembled the clergymen of divers nations, before whom he made a full confeſſion of his Chriſtian faith. The cloſing ſcene of his life, was the parting with his brother, Sir Robert Sidney, of whom he took leave in theſe words,—"Love my memory, cheriſh my friends; their faith to me may aſſure you they are

 ſincere:

ſincere: but above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator, in me beholding the end of the world, with all her vanities." As he had been during his life beloved, admired, and almoſt idolized by all ranks of men, ſo was his death moſt deeply lamented. He was the faireſt flower of Chivalry, the bright jewel of an illuſtrious court, and a pattern of ſuperior excellence, even in an age of heroes °.

A knight was always known by a device on his ſhield, and the peculiarities of his blazonry, which were alluſive to ſome of his martial exploits. Great honours were paid to him after his deceaſe, particularly if he was ſlain in battle. His funeral was moſt ſolemn, and very fully attended. His ſword, helmet, ſpurs, gauntlets, and armorial enſigns, were ſuſpended over the hallowed ſpot of his interment, or his cenotaph. His ſplendid tomb, graced with his effigy, and marked with a ſuitable inſcription, was conſidered as a tribute of the juſteſt reſpect to his virtues, and as a powerful incentive to inflame the youthful warrior to tread the ſame path of valour and renown.

Chivalry was indebted to religion, for much of the ardour with which its votaries were animated. Such was the ſuperſtition of the times, that no inſtitution of a public nature could have obtained

° Lord Lyttelton's Life of Hen. II. v. 3. p. 54. Biographia Brit. Article Sidney, &c.

reputation in the world, which was not conſecrated by the church, and cloſely interwoven with the religious opinions of the times. To the incentives of zeal, were added the ſpirit of gallantry, and a romantic attachment to the fair ſex. The youthful knight, previous to his going forth upon any warlike expedition, devoted himſelf to the ſervice of ſome lady, who was uſually the object of his ardent love. It was his moſt lively hope that her ſmiles and her hand would reward his valour: he bore her device upon his arms; to her he conſecrated his trophies; and to gain her favour and approbation, he was ready upon all occaſions to meet danger, and to ſhed his blood. This paſſion was the keeneſt incitement, that was given to his heroic actions, and fired his mind with unabating enthuſiaſm. Amid foreign invaſion or domeſtic feuds, where the oppoſing barons and their vaſſals encountered each other in the hotteſt engagements; the faithful knight, as he couched his lance, and ruſhed to meet the foe, invoked the miſtreſs of his heart, and gloried by his achievements to render himſelf worthy of her regard. When peace brought a ſhort interval of repoſe, and rival knights contended in the juſts and tournaments, the applauding lady often adjudged the prizes to the victorious champions, and rewarded the valour which he had inſpired. In the lofty hall decked with banners and trophies of war, when the banquet was given to the jocund train of nobles, and their gallant companions in arms; the harp and the ſongs of the minſtrel reſounded the

the praiſes of the fair; and every pageant and celebrity concurred to keep the mind in the ſame direction to its beloved object.

The ambition of pleaſing a favourite lady, and of being worthy to be conſidered as her champion in the field of battle, as well as in the tournaments, was a motive which ſtimulated a knight to the moſt daring actions, and animated him with the moſt determined valour. Many inſtances are recorded in the hiſtory of the middle ages, of the height to which this romantic gallantry aroſe[p]. It was not unuſual for a knight in the midſt of a battle or a ſiege, to challenge his enemy to ſingle combat, and refer to the deciſion of arms the tranſcendent beauty of their ladies.

We have before taken occaſion to obſerve, that the treatment of women in Greece and Rome was harſh and degrading. They were confined to a ſtate of ſecluſion from the world, had few attentions paid to them, and were allowed to take little ſhare in the general intercourſe of life. The northern nations, on the contrary, paid a kind of religious veneration to the female ſex, conſidered them as endowed with ſuperior and even divine qualities, gave them a ſeat in their public councils, and followed their ſtandard to battle. Theſe fierce barbarians in the courſe of their ravages in the Roman empire, when they involved the monuments

[p] Palaye, p. 653.

of

of ancient art in deſtruction, and purſued their enemies in arms with the moſt bloody ſeverity, always forbore to offer violence to women. They introduced into the weſt of Europe the reſpectful gallantry of the north; and this benevolence of ſentiment was cheriſhed and matured by the inſtitution of chivalry[q]. Woman, inſtead of having only a retired place in ſociety, was brought forward into the moſt conſpicuous point of view; ſhe became the umpire of valour, the arbitreſs of victory, and at once the incentive and the reward of courageous actions. Naturally elated at beholding the power of her charms, ſhe became worthy of the heroiſm which ſhe inſpired, improved in the dignity of her character, and formed her ſentiments upon the pure principles of honour. The diſtinguiſhed proweſs of the knight was counterbalanced by the ſtrict and ſpotleſs chaſtity of the lady, and theſe virtues long continued to countenance and to reward each other: they were encouraged by the modes, the habits, and the circumſtances of the times, and found ample room for growth and expanſion in the baronial ſtates.

Thus it appears, that in the inſtitution of chivalry were blended valour, humanity, juſtice, honour, courteſy, and gallantry. Their combined effects were ſoon viſible upon the manners of a martial age. The horrors of war were ſoftened, when

[q] Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 82, &c. Modern Europe, vol. ii. p. 208, &c.

humanity

humanity began to be eſteemed the ornament of knighthood. More condeſcenſion and more affability were introduced, when courteſy was recommended as the moſt amiable of knightly virtues. A rigid adherence to truth, with the moſt religious attention to every engagement, became the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of every gentleman, becauſe chivalry was regarded as the ſchool of honour. It is the remark of the excellent hiſtorian, to whoſe works I confeſs myſelf under ſingular obligations in purſuing this and ſimilar inquiries, "that, perhaps, the *humanity* which accompanies all the operations of war, the *refinements of gallantry*, and the *point of honour*, the three chief circumſtances, which diſtinguiſh modern from ancient manners, may be attributed in a great meaſure to this whimſical inſtitution[r]."

The claſſical reader cannot fail to be ſtruck with the coincidence in the political ſtate of ancient Greece, as deſcribed by Homer, and the condition of the feudal times. The military ardour of the heroes is ſimilar to that of the barons. What are the Grecian Bacchus, Hercules, and Jaſon, wandering over various parts of the world in ſearch of adventures, and conquering giants and monſters, but knights-errant, and the exact counterparts of Sir Launcelot, and Amadis de Gaul, and the Seven Champions of Chriſtendom? Courage, Generoſity, Courteſy, and Hoſpitality, were the virtues common to them all.

[r] Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 85.

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The diſpoſitions and ſentiments which chivalry produced were ſo deeply rooted, that they continued to predominate long after its ſpirit had evaporated, and the inſtitution had become an object of neglect and ridicule. Generoſity and a love of enterprize, the qualities to which it owed its birth, when once directed to objects that intereſted the affections, were not likely to be ſhort in their duration, or partial in their effects. The refined aſſiduities of men naturally directed the attention of women to themſelves, as well as to their admirers; and this circumſtance produced a gradual improvement in female education. The men, quitting the formality of the feudal times, and the hyperbolical ſtyle of making love, of which many curious inſtances may be found in the old romances, became leſs artificial in their compliments, and ſofter in their manners. Women became ſenſible of the importance of improving their minds, and of heightening the charms of nature with elegant accompliſhments, and the graces of affability and complaiſance.

Thus has a great change of manners been effected, by following up a leading principle of the inſtitution of chivalry, and giving a conſpicuous place to the female ſex in the ranks of ſociety. The paſſion of love, purified by delicacy, has been heightened by the pleaſures of ſentiment and imagination; the ſphere of converſation has been enlarged and meliorated; it has gained more propriety, more vivacity, more wit, and more variety;

riety; ſocial intercourſe has been diveſted of formality, and is regulated by the laws of true politeneſs. It has opened new ſources of ſatisfaction to the underſtanding, and afforded new delights to the heart. The merit of the ſexes has been raiſed, they have become better entitled to the eſteem of each other; the characters both of men and women have been marked by more amiable qualities, and the ſtock of refined pleaſures and ſocial happineſs has been very conſiderably increaſed.

VI. *The Reformation of Religion.*

There is perhaps no occurrence recorded in the annals of mankind, ſince the firſt publication of Chriſtianity, which has had ſo conſiderable an influence in vindicating the rights of conſcience, in liberating the powers of the mind from the tyranny of ſuperſtition, and in the promotion of general knowledge, as the reformation of religion in the ſixteenth century. Previous to this auſpicious event, all Europe bowed beneath the yoke of the Church of Rome, and trembled at the name of her ſovereigns. The laws, which were iſſued from the Vatican, held emperors, kings, and all their ſubjects, in the chains of obedience, or rather of ſlavery; and to reſiſt their authority, or to examine their reaſonableneſs, required a vigour of underſtanding, and an energy of character, of which for many ages few examples were to be found. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huſs

Huſs in the fifteenth, had inveighed againſt the errors of Popery with great boldneſs, and expoſed them with great ingenuity: but their attempts to inſtruct the minds of the ignorant and illiterate were premature and ineffectual. Such feeble lights, incapable of diſpelling the thick darkneſs, which enveloped the Church, were ſoon extinguiſhed: at length, however, it was the gracious act of Providence to raiſe up MARTIN LUTHER, as the choſen inſtrument of its auſpicious deſigns [t].

This great Reformer was born of poor parents at Eiſleben in Saxony [u]. He received a learned education, and in his youth diſcovered great acuteneſs and vigour of underſtanding. He firſt devoted himſelf to a monaſtic life in a convent of Auguſtinian friars, and afterward was appointed by Frederic, elector of Saxony, profeſſor of philoſophy and theology in the new univerſity of Wittemberg. Having found a copy of the Bible, which had long been neglected, in the library of his convent, he abandoned all other purſuits, and devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of the Scriptures. The pure light of revelation beamed upon his mind —he ſaw that Chriſtianity was not be learned from the writings of the ſchoolmen, or the decrees of general councils, but from the authority

[t] See Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 41. 4th ed.

[u] Born 1483. His opinions widely diffuſed in 1518. Died 1546, aged 63 years.

of the ſacred Writings alone. An opportunity was ſoon afforded him of ſhewing his zeal for truth, and his ardour for its propagation. The Dominican monks were at that time employed by pope Leo X. to ſell indulgences for all offences and crimes, for the purpoſe of recruiting his exhauſted treaſury. Luther, with great boldneſs of manner, and ſtrength of argument, preached againſt the irregularity of their lives, and the vicious tendency of their doctrines; and he repreſented to the people the extreme danger of relying for ſalvation on any other means than thoſe appointed by the word of God. The more he examined the claims of the Church of Rome to its empire over the reaſon and conſcience of mankind, the more he aſcertained their weakneſs. The diſcovery of one error naturally led him to the detection of others; and from refuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgences, he proceeded to expoſe ſuch as were maintained reſpecting pilgrimages and penances, the interceſſion and the worſhip of ſaints, the abuſes of auricular confeſſion, the exiſtence of purgatory, and many other doctrines of the ſame kind, which have no foundation in Scripture. His arguments made a deep impreſſion upon his hearers, and his fame was ſoon ſpread not only through Germany, but various other parts of Europe.

At the ſame time that by his ſermons he was diffuſing the principles of the reformation, and his writings contributed materially to the ſame purpoſe, nothing proved more fatal to the intereſts of the Church

Church of Rome, or more ſubverſive of its opinions, than his tranſlation of the Bible into the German language. The copies of it were rapidly diſperſed, and peruſed with the greateſt avidity by perſons of all ranks. They were aſtoniſhed at diſcovering how contrary the precepts of the great Author of their religion were to the comments and the inventions of thoſe, who had ſo long pretended to be the faithful interpreters of his Word. Having now in their own hands the genuine rule of faith, they thought themſelves qualified to judge of the eſtabliſhed opinions, and to pronounce whether they were conformable to the ſtandard of Scripture, or deviated from it. The great advantages, which reſulted from this celebrated tranſlation of the Bible, encouraged the advocates for the reformation in other countries to follow this example: and by publiſhing verſions in their reſpective languages, they materially promoted the general cauſe [z].

Luther has been accuſed by the catholic writers of exceſſive love of wine, and of the amuſements of the field. He indeed much ſhocked their prejudices by marrying a nun. His followers, however, inform us that he was a man of the ſtricteſt temperance, that he drank nothing but water, and that he would occaſionally faſt two or

[z] Robertſon's Charles V. vol. ii. p. 113, &c. Hiſtory of Modern Europe, vol. ii. p. 194, &c. Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.

three days together, and then eat a herring and ſome bread[y].

He had the ſatisfaction to receive the moſt important aſſiſtance from men of learning and abilities. Melancthon, famed for his genius, learning, moderation, and piety, was the author of the confeſſion of Augſburg, preſented by the Proteſtants to the emperor Charles V. at the diet held in that place. Bucer introduced the doctrines of Luther into the imperial cities upon the Rhine; and Olaus diſſeminated them with equal zeal in Sweden, his native country. Zuinglius and Calvin, men not inferior to the great Reformer himſelf in zeal and intrepidity, were active in Switzerland. However they diſagreed in their doctrines, and whatever errors marked ſome of their opinions, they co-operated with the moſt perfect harmony in the promotion of this great and perilous deſign. The oppoſition made by the ſee of Rome to the divorce of Henry VIII. from his queen Catherine, haſtened the introduction of the reformed opinions into England. The acute and learned Eraſmus was far from being an inconſiderable coadjutor to Luther. His numerous works prepared the way for the reception of the new doctrines. He confuted many of the Romiſh errors with great weight of argument and force of eloquence. In his ſatirical writings, likewiſe, he held up to deriſion the

[y] Seward's Anecdotes, v. i. p. 82, &c. See other anecdotes of him by the pleaſing collector, vol. 3. p. 112.

frauds

frauds practiſed by the monks to impoſe upon the credulity of the people; and there was ſcarcely any error, which Luther endeavoured to reform, which had not been treated by Eraſmus, either with cenſure or raillery[z].

The character of Luther was ſuch as exactly qualified him for a reformer, at the particular period when he ſtood forth as the champion of the Proteſtant faith. His abilities were of the firſt order, ſtrong by nature, and improved by ſtudy. His ſanctity of life was conformable to the pure doctrines which he taught. His diligence in detecting the errors of his opponents, and in propagating his own opinions, was ever active and indefatigable. He had an ardour of temper, which ſometimes broke out into vehemence and impetuoſity;—the effect of his courage and zeal in the cauſe of truth. Eraſmus ſaid of Luther that God had beſtowed upon mankind ſo violent a phyſician, in conſequence of the magnitude of their diſeaſes. From every inſtance of oppoſition his undaunted ſpirit derived freſh energy: he readily obeyed the ſummons of the ſovereign Pontiff, and ſtood un-

[z] "Quid ego potuiſſem opitulari Lutheto, ſi me periculi comitem feciſſem, niſi ut pro uno perirent duo? Quod ſi omnia pie ſcripſiſſet, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium ſatis habent roboris. Vereor, ne ſi quid inciderit tumultus, *Petrum* ſim imitaturus." Eraſmi Epiſt. 583. See an excellent account of this accompliſhed ſcholar and refined ſatiriſt, in Warton on the Genius of Pope, vol. i. p. 187.

moved before his legate, prepared as he was, not to retract, but to juſtify his opinions. He afterwards in the preſence of numerous ſpectators burnt the bull of excommunication, which had been iſſued againſt him. Conſcious of the rectitude of his motives, he was bold to aſſert and prompt to execute his deſigns. In his controverſies he was regardleſs of the rank or quality of his opponents, and treated Henry VIII. with the ſame opprobrious language, which he uſed to Tetzel, or Eccius, the ignoble advocates for the ſee of Rome. Had he been leſs harſh and ſevere in his cenſures, and leſs vehement in his invectives, he would not have ſuited the rude manners of the times. Had he addreſſed his countrymen in a voice of leſs authority and boldneſs, he would not have awakened them from the lethargy of ſuperſtition, in which they were entranced: and if he had been leſs confident in his own talents, and the goodneſs of his cauſe, he would not have ſpread his opinions with ſuch rapidity, and carried them to ſuch an extent. Unaided by power, and unaſſiſted by force of arms, he ſhook the throne of the Popes, and ſubverted a great part of the vaſt fabric of their eccleſiaſtical dominion, which had been raiſed with conſummate art, and whoſe foundations were deeply laid. This difficult taſk he accompliſhed by turning the current of public opinion againſt it. He imparted to mankind the light of reaſon and revelation, and enabled them to diſcern the errors, the frauds, and the uſurpations of the ſee of Rome; and he taught them to vindicate the rights of reaſon,

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conſcience, and the Goſpel. He had the ſatisfaction to live to ſee whole provinces and kingdoms adopt his opinions with the higheſt reſpect, and ſubſcribe to his deciſions with the moſt implicit deference. He was liſtened to with that fixed and ſteady attention, which truth, when accompanied by novelty, is always ſure to command. And by an extraordinary inſtance of divine favour, particularly ſignal, if we conſider the ferocious manners of his contemporaries, and the intolerant ſpirit of his enemies, he had the happineſs to end his life with compoſure and peace, in his native city, in the midſt of his own family. For the invaluable benefits, conferred by the great Reformer upon his own age, and upon all poſterity, he ſtands diſtinguiſhed among the benefactors of the human race, and is entitled to the praiſe, gratitude, and veneration of mankind.

The oppoſition, which was raiſed againſt the opinions of the reformers, contributed to produce the effect, which it was the deſign of their enemies to prevent. Their ſevere edicts, and even their bloody perſecutions, made perhaps as many proſelytes to the Proteſtant faith, as the bold invectives of Luther, the wit and learning of Eraſmus, the vehemence of Calvin, and the perſuaſive mildneſs of Melanchon. In vain did Henry VIII. of England diſplay his polemical ſkill, and obtain the title of Defender of the Faith from the Pope, as a reward for his attack on Luther. In vain were repeated diets aſſembled for the condemnation of his opinions.

opinions. In vain did the crafty Charles V. of Germany enter into an alliance with pope Paul III. for the expreſs purpoſe of extirpating what they ſtigmatized with the name of hereſy. It was to no purpoſe that the Proteſtants were forbidden under the moſt heavy penalties to teach any doctrine contrary to the decrees of the council of Trent. Even the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, perpetrated by the ſanguinary Charles IX. of France, produced no permanent injury to the Proteſtant cauſe. And with as little effect did Mary, in a ſpirit of bigotry, equally cruel and infuriate, commit the holy martyrs of England to the flames. The ſame conſequences enſued, which had originally taken place at the firſt publication of Chriſtianity. The rage of perſecution tended only to ſtimulate the curioſity and excite the compaſſion of mankind; and their enquiries led to the multiplication of converts, wherever the blood of the martyrs was ſhed.

Many cauſes led to the ſucceſs and popularity of the reformed opinions. The ſchiſms in the Church of Rome, the profligate characters of the Popes, and the diſſolute lives and intolerant diſpoſitions of the Clergy, had made the people diſguſted with an eſtabliſhment, which under the maſk of religion not only encouraged immorality, but granted indulgences for great and flagrant crimes. The recent invention of printing gave a rapid circulation to the writings of the reformers, and particularly to the various verſions of the

Bible. And the revival of learning conduced to open the minds of men to free enquiry, and critical reſearches. Thus did the peculiar circumſtances of the times, and the favourable conjuncture of various events, unite to crown the labours of Luther with ſucceſs. Nor muſt we ever loſe ſight of *that great cauſe*, into which all the reſt may be reſolved, the ſupreme direction of divine Providence, which at this auſpicious period ſhed the radiant beams of its goodneſs and truth upon a long-benighted world.

The Reformation not only narrowed the dominions of the ſovereign Pontiffs, but obliged them to adopt a different mode of conduct, and to rule by new maxims of policy. Their behaviour was bent to the urgency of the times: from having been long tyrannical and imperious, they became condeſcending, gracious, and mild. Ever ſince the Reformation, they have continued to govern rather by addreſs and management, than by deſpotic authority; and ſuch has been the great decline of their power, that from wielding the ſceptre of Europe, and being the arbiters of all its affairs, they have nearly been reduced to a level with the petty princes of Italy and Germany.

One great advantage conſequent upon the Reformation has been the improvement not only of its advocates, but even of its enemies, in ſcience, learning, and arts. It was found expedient thus to combat the reformers with their own weapons,

and

and to efface the aſperſions, which they threw upon the ignorance and licentiouſneſs of the Papiſts. Hence the attention of the Romiſh Clergy has been directed to the cultivation of uſeful and elegant learning, to a degree unknown in former ages; and hence they have become as enlightened and well informed as they were before remarkable for their ignorance.

Similar was the change in their morals: they found it was neceſſary to ſilence the clamour of their enemies by a ſuperior propriety of conduct. The oppoſers of Luther and Calvin endeavoured to reach the ſtandard, which the reformers, eminent for the purity and even the auſterity of their manners, had ſet up. This amelioration extended to France, to the ſee of Rome, and to the ſovereign Pontiffs themſelves. Their love of learning and their moderate uſe of power have made ſome atonement to the world for the follies and crimes of their predeceſſors.

Such have been the beneficial conſequences of an event, which, in a political as well as in a religious point of view, is a diſtinguiſhed object of regard and admiration. The Reformation has vindicated the rights of reaſon and conſcience; it has taught the duty, and diffuſed the bleſſings of Toleration; and while it has held forth the Scriptures themſelves, as the proper and excluſive ſtandard of religious opinions, it has diſſeminated the genuine principles of Chriſtianity, purified the faith,

faith, improved the manners, and increaſed the virtue of mankind.

V. *The Revival of Claſſical Learning.*

Alfred[a] the Great of England, and Charlemagne Emperor of Germany, flouriſhed in the ninth century. Theſe earlieſt luminaries of the modern world, ſhed a ſtrong and vivid luſtre over the age in which they lived. They encouraged learning both by their example and patronage; but their endeavours were not ſufficiently effectual to overcome the groſs ignorance of their times[b]. The ſchools, which they erected, were confined to churches and monaſteries; and the contracted notions of the monks, who preſided over them, partly ariſing from their recluſe modes of life, and partly from their religious prejudices, rendered them wholly inadequate to the taſk of diffuſing knowledge in any extenſive circle. The reign of barbariſm and ignorance continued, with little intermiſſion, till the learning, which the Arabians had introduced into Spain, began to ſpread through

[a] See the firſt Chapter of the Hiſtory of England.

[b] "Charlemagne rempliſſoit le monde de ſon nom; c'etoit l'homme de la plus grande taille, & le plus fort de ſon tems. On le voyoit paſſer rapidement des Pyrenées en Allemagne, & d'Alemagne en Italie. Tout cela reſſemble aſſez aux heros de la fable; mais ce qui ne leur reſſemble pas, c'eſt qu'il penſoit que la force ne ſert qu'a vaincre, & qu'il faut des loix pour gouverner. Il aima, cultiva, & protegea les lettres & les arts, car la veritable grandeur ne va jamais ſans cela."

Novel Abregé de Renault, Tom. i. p. 3.

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the reſt of Europe. This learning conſiſted in arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, chemiſtry, and medicine, and the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, in its fulleſt extent [c]. Several enlightened ſcholars, who had ſtudied under the Arabians, undertook, at the beginning of the eleventh century, the education of youth, particularly in the cities of Italy, and afterwards in thoſe of France, England, and Germany. To the prevalence and permanency of theſe branches of knowledge, the eſtabliſhment of the univerſities of Europe, ſo general in the thirteenth century, was eminently conducive. Some indeed were founded rather earlier; and Paris and Oxford carry their pretenſions to antiquity ſo high as the reigns of Charlemagne and Alfred: but the real claims of Paris are dated from the time of Philip Auguſtus, who flouriſhed in the twelfth century. And it would be too heavy a taſk, even inclined as I may be to ſupport the high antiquity of my own Univerſity, if I were required to trace any literary inſtitution for the *regular* maintenance of ſtudents upon a *collegiate* plan, to a remoter period than the reign of Edward the firſt. Merton college was then founded by Walter de Merton, Lord Chancellor of England, and biſhop of Rocheſter, in the year 1264 [d]. Upon a

[c] See Warton on Pope, vol. i. p. 184.

[d] "Merton College ought to be the firſt, and the firſt now I have put it, becauſe it is the moſt ancient endowed houſe in Oxford, (ſome ſay in all the learned world) and the moſt famous for the education of learned men."

Wood's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford, p. 2.

careful

careful examination of the pretenſions of the firſt great ſeminaries of education, the honoured title of Mother of the univerſities of Europe ſeems to be due to Bologna. It was within her walls, during the tumults and diſorders of the eleventh century, that learning firſt attempted to raiſe her head. In the ſucceeding age, the almoſt incredible number of 10,000 ſtudents were aſſembled there, and each country in Europe had its reſident regents and profeſſors. The ſtudies of the civil and canon law conſtituted the favourite and almoſt the excluſive objects of application. Paris directed the attention of her ſcholars to theology, and nearly with an equal degree of reputation. Oxford began at this time to acquire celebrity, and to rival, or rather to ſurpaſs the foreign univerſities in the ability of its profeſſors, and the concourſe of its members; for in the year 1340 they amounted, according to the account of the hiſtorian Speed, to not leſs than 30,000. Many other univerſities were not long after founded, particularly in Italy and France, and were all modelled upon the ſame plan as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, with reſpect to their inſtitutions, and ſtudies.

In theſe ſeminaries of learning, logic and ſcholaſtic divinity were for ages the reigning ſubjects of purſuit. The works of Ariſtotle were peruſed with the greateſt avidity; and the diſquiſitions of the commentators upon his Dialectics were ſo favourably received, that their authors almoſt totally eclipſed the fame of their great maſter himſelf.

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The ſyllogiſtic mode of reaſoning was applied to every topic, without diſcrimination, as the beſt inſtrument in the hands of a ſubtle diſputant to frame the moſt ſpecious arguments, and to perplex the plaineſt truths.

The public ſchools in the Univerſities were the theatres, in which the ſtudents acquired and diſplayed their attainments, as they were filled with a great concourſe of auditors, who daily aſſembled to liſten to the clamorous debates of the ſeveral diſputants.

Upon the logic of Ariſtotle was founded the cultivation of ſcholaſtic theology and caſuiſtry. To make nice and metaphyſical diſtinctions between one word and another, to ſeparate ſubjects by infinite diviſions, not as the real nature of things, but as fancy ſuggeſted, and to draw concluſions which had no moral end whatever, were the inceſſant purſuits of the ſchoolmen. The ſkill, induſtry, and productions of the ſpider may ſerve to illuſtrate the texture and the flimſineſs of their literary labours. They have likewiſe been more ingeniouſly compared to thoſe Indians, who, by the curious arrangement of a few feathers, which form their only ſtock, compoſe a thouſand varieties of figure, and a perpetual change of picture. The names of Lanfranc, Abelard, Petrus Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, are the moſt eminent among theſe celebrated diſputants. And while an attachment to the ceremonial and ritual obſervances of the Church of Rome, and the moſt implicit

implicit ſubſerviency to its edicts, and the decrees of its councils, uſurped the place of obedience to pure and practical Chriſtianity; the bulky volumes of theſe ſchoolmen filled every library, and exerciſed the underſtanding of every ſtudent. And theſe were the ſpeculations, which, however dry in point of ſtyle, and unimproving in point of matter, as they were patronized by the dignitaries of the church, and purſued by men of ſtrong and vigorous minds, engroſſed for centuries the whole attention of univerſities, intereſted courts, and were celebrated in every part of Europe.

In the mean time claſſical learning was entirely neglected; it was conſidered as dangerous to true piety, and calculated only to corrupt the pure theology of the Goſpel. The poets and orators of Greece and Rome were regarded as the blind guides of erring reaſon, and as ſeducers to the paths of ſin and deſtruction. Virgil and Horace were looked upon merely as the advocates for a profane and idolatrous mythology; and Cicero was regarded as a vain declaimer, impiouſly elated with the talent of Pagan eloquence. Whenever the minds of the monks were exerciſed in any literary compoſitions, to record the marvellous exploits of ſaints and martyrs, to compoſe unedifying homilies, and to make frivolous commentaries on Scripture, were the chief and favourite objects of their attention; and that ſuch were their occupations, the voluminous manuſcripts, which form the

original parts of moſt of the oldeſt libraries in Europe, can abundantly teſtify.

We diſcover the firſt dawnings of modern literature in the cultivation of the language of Provence, and the rude productions of the Troubadours. The firſt of this order, whoſe name ſtands recorded, was William Count of Poitou, a nobleman, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his proweſs in the cruſades. Many of the men of rank, who embarked in the firſt expedition to the Holy Land, were of that number. Their Romances, compoſed upon the ſtriking ſubjects of gallantry, war, ſatire, and hiſtory, firſt awakened Europe from its ignorance and lethargy, amuſed the minds of men with groteſque and lively images and deſcriptions, and firſt taught them to think, reflect, and judge upon ſubjects of imagination. The Troubadours occupied the middle place between Gothic ignorance and Italian excellence; and after this period, literature is indebted to them for raiſing the earlieſt fruits of European genius, and inſpiring the moderns with a love of poetry. Their reputation and their language extended far and wide; and every country upon the continent of Europe could boaſt its itinerant bards. In the courts of kings, and the caſtles of barons, they were always hailed as the moſt welcome gueſts; and their exertions to pleaſe and to inſtruct were repaid by ſplendid rewards. The commencement of the cruſades, and the cloſe of the fourteenth century, mark the limits of their celebrity. The Romance,

which had its riſe in the manners of chivalry, fell into diſrepute as ſoon as that inſtitution began to decline.

In the fourteenth century men of genius aroſe in Italy, who reſolved to cultivate their native tongue, and to combine with its elegance the charms of imagination, and the acquirements of claſſical learning. The poetry of the Tuſcan ſchool burſt forth with a ſplendour and luſtre, which have ever been ſurveyed with delight and admiration; and the works of Dante, Arioſto, Bocaccio, and Petrarch, although the productions of an age ſo unpoliſhed, have never yet been excelled by four ſucceeding centuries of the beſt efforts of genius and learning.

After the philoſophy of Ariſtotle and the commentaries of the ſchoolmen had contributed for a conſiderable period to give a wrong direction to the faculties of the mind, and to occupy the time and attention of ſcholars; a ſeries of events occurred in the fifteenth century, which turned the minds of ingenious men to new reſearches, opened the way to the revival of claſſical learning, and the improvement of all the arts and ſciences connected with its cultivation.

The ſubverſion of the Roman Empire in the Eaſt, and the diſcovery of the art of printing, happened nearly at the ſame period of time. Learned men had long trembled at the approach, and at

length fled before the fierce aſpect of Mahomet the ſecond. After Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks in the year 1453, Chryſoloras, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Johannes Andronicus, Calliſtus Conſtantius, Johannes Laſcaris, Gaza of Theſſalonica, and many other learned Greeks, whoſe names muſt ever be recorded with honour in the annals of literature, fled into Italy for ſhelter and protection[e]. That country, in conſequence of having always preſerved a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than the reſt of Europe, was happily calculated for their favourable reception. They found in particular at Florence ſeveral Greek profeſſors, who had been induced, by the liberality of Coſmo de Medici, a great patron of learning, to ſettle in that city. Into Italy they conveyed, and there they interpreted, the ineſtimable works of their ancient writers, which had been preſerved in the metropolis of the Eaſt. They were eagerly followed by the beſt Italian ſcholars, who quickly imbibed a taſte for the graces of genuine poetry, eloquence, and hiſtory. A more uſeful and ſublime philoſophy was ſoon adopted; and the ſcholaſtic ſubtleties of logic, and the emptyſpe-

[e] For an able vindication of theſe eminent ſcholars from various miſrepreſentations, ſee Forſter's Eſſay on Accent and quantity, p. 215. For an account of their lives, ſee Hodius de Græcis Illuſtribus, and Boernerus de doctis Hominibus Græcis. 'There is ſcarcely a greater deſideratum in the learned world, than *a complete Hiſtory of the Revival of Learning*;—but where is the Gibbon, or the Robertſon, who is equal to ſo arduous, ſo noble a taſk? and where is the Macænas, who will patroniſe it? *Exoriare aliquis!*

culations

culations of metaphyſics, were gradually ſuperſeded by the uſeful principles of moral philoſophy, the maxims of ſound criticiſm, and the acquiſitions of elegant learning.

The patronage of the Popes gave ſplendour and importance to this new kind of erudition. Conſidering its encouragement as an excellent expedient to eſtabliſh their authority, ſuch was their liberality to ſcholars, that the court of Rome on a ſudden changed its auſtere character, and became the ſeat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas the fifth, about the year 1440, offered public rewards at Rome for compoſitions in the learned languages, appointed profeſſors in the Belles Lettres, and employed intelligent perſons to traverſe all parts of Europe in ſearch of the claſſic manuſcripts, which were concealed in the libraries of monaſteries.

> But ſee each Muſe in Leo's golden days
> Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays;
> Rome's ancient Genius, o'er its ruins ſpread,
> Shakes off the duſt, and rears his reverend head[f].

Leo the tenth was conſpicuous for his ardour and munificence in the cauſe of literature: It is very remarkable, that while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas againſt the new doctrines of Luther, he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould dare to

[f] Pope's Eſſay on Criticiſm.

cenſure the poems of Arioſto. And it was during his pontificate, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monaſtery, becauſe it poſſeſſed a manuſcript of Tacitus. In the exerciſe of theſe new ſtudies, the Italian eccleſiaſtics were the firſt and the moſt numerous. Countenanced by the authority of the ſovereign pontiff, they abandoned the intricacies of a dry and barbarous theology, and ſtudied the pureſt models of antiquity.

No ſooner had Italy, under theſe auſpices, baniſhed the Gothic ſtyle in eloquence and poetry, than painting, ſculpture, and architecture arrived at maturity, and ſhone in all their original ſplendour. The beautiful and ſublime ideas, which the Italian artiſts had conceived from the contemplation of ancient ſtatues and temples, were invigorated by the deſcriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was crowned at Rome in the capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.

Theſe improvements were ſoon received in other countries, and ſpread their influence over France, England, Spain, and Hungary. The Greek tongue was introduced into England by William Grocyn: he was a fellow of New College, Oxford, and died about the year 1520. To Germany muſt be allowed a very large and diſtinguiſhed ſhare in the reſtitution of letters. And the mechanical genius of Holland added, at an auſpicious moment to all the

the fortunate events in favour of ſcience, an admirable invention; for to that country the world was indebted for the diſcovery of the art of PRINTING. The honour of having given riſe to this art has been claimed by the cities of Haerlem, Mentz, and Straſburgh. To each of theſe it may be attributed in a qualified ſenſe, as within a ſhort ſpace of time they reſpectively contributed to its advancement. But the original inventor was Laurentius John Coſter of Haerlem, who made his firſt eſſay with wooden types about the year 1430. The art was communicated by his ſervant to John Fauſt and John Guttemburg of Mentz. It was carried to perfection by Peter Schoeffer, the ſon-in-law of Fauſtus, who invented the modes of caſting metal types, and was probably the firſt who uſed them in printing[s]. The moſt popular of thoſe very ingenious mechanics was Fauſt, who is reported to have

[s] Trithemius, in his Chronicle, written A. D. 1514, ſays he had it from the mouth of Peter Schoeffer, that the firſt book they printed with moveable types was the Bible, about the year 1450, in which the expences were ſo enormous as to have coſt 4000 florins before they had printed 12 ſheets. The author of a a MS. Chronicle of Cologne, compiled in 1499, alſo ſays, that he was told by Ulric Zell of Cologne, (who himſelf introduced printing there in 1466) that the Latin Bible was firſt begun to be printed in the year of Jubilee 1450, and that it was in large character. *Scriptura grandiori quali hodie miſſalia ſolent imprimi.* Mr. Edwards of Pall Mall poſſeſſed a copy of this curious Bible, 3 vol. bound in Morocco. In his catalogue it was valued at 126l. There is a beautiful copy of this work, 2 vol. fol. in the Bodleian library.

carried a number of his Bibles to Paris; and when he offered them to ſale as manuſcripts, the French, conſidering the number of the books, and their exact reſemblance to each other, without the variation even of a letter or a ſtop, and that the beſt tranſcribers could not poſſibly be ſo exact in their moſt accurate copies, concluded he muſt have derived aſſiſtance from ſome ſupernatural agent. Either by actually proſecuting him as a magician, or threatening to do ſo, they extorted from him the curious ſecret of his new invention; and it is probable, that from this circumſtance aroſe the marvellous ſtories which are related of Dr. Fauſtus.

The art of printing was ſoon ſpread throughout a great part of Europe. It paſſed to Rome in 1466, and the Roman type was in a ſhort time brought to great perfection. Thomas Bouchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry VI. ſent Caxton, a perſon remarkable in that age for cultivating learning amid the occupations of commerce, to Haerlem, to gain a knowledge of this invention; and "the firſt book which Caxton printed was an Engliſh tranſlation of Recuyel, or the Hiſtory of Troy, in 1471, in Flanders. The firſt book known to have been printed in England by him was a tranſlation from the French *of the Game of Cheſs*, 1474, with fuſil metal types. For though Frederick Corſelli, a Dutchman or German, is ſaid to have printed at Oxford in 1468, *Sancti Hieronymi Expoſitio in Symbolum Apoſtolorum*, it has been doubted whether there ever was a printer of that name in England;

land; and if there was, his book was printed with ſeparate *wooden types*[h]." At the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, various editions of books in Syriac, Arabic, Perſian, Armenian, and Coptic characters, were publiſhed. This admirable diſcovery was made at a period the moſt favourable to its reception and improvement. Not only a taſte for polite learning began, as we have before remarked, to be faſhionable in the fifteenth century, but many perſons of the firſt rank in ſeveral parts of Europe, and particularly in Italy, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their love of letters, and their patronage of eminent ſcholars. Many public libraries were about this time erected in the great cities of Europe, and were furniſhed with manuſcripts of ancient authors, purchaſed at a great expence; but from the care, with which they were guarded, their peruſal was confined to a ſmall number of readers. No invention therefore could be more fortunate, or more likely to gratify the general curioſity, than that by which copies of the ſame work were eaſily and expeditiouſly multiplied, ſold at a reaſonable rate, and circulated throughout every part of the civilized world.

This art would have been comparatively of ſmall value a century or two before, when the groſſeſt ignorance prevailed, and even perſons of high birth and diſtinction were extremely illiterate, and of courſe not diſpoſed to give encouragement to the revival of learning. On the contrary, the people

[h] See the Norfolk Tour, p. 120.

of

of the fifteenth century were highly gratified by the diſcovery of an art ſo congenial to their taſte, and therefore ſtimulated the ingenuity of its inventors to carry it to a high degree of perfection. Of this encouragement and improvement ſufficient proofs are now extant; for many of the books, which were printed at this early period, may be compared, with reſpect to the blackneſs of the ink, the elegance of the type, and the excellence of the paper, to moſt of the copies, which are at this time the boaſt of the Engliſh or foreign preſſes.

Thus, as books were multiplied, a taſte for reading became more general. And it is very remarkable, that the reformation of religion, and the revival of claſſical learning, were reciprocally advantageous; they reflected mutual light, and afforded mutual aſſiſtance. The eccleſiaſtics, when books were placed within the common reach, could no longer confine the languages or the writers of antiquity to themſelves; and men were eager to acquire that knowledge, which had been ſo long concealed. They imagined the mines of antiquity to be very rich; and they were not diſappointed; for as ſoon as they were enabled to explore their treaſures, they found them anſwer their moſt ſanguine expectations[i].

As the dawn of the Reformation in England was obſcured by the bigotry of the ſanguinary Mary,

[i] Warton's Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii. p. 491. vol. ii. p. 54, &c.

ſo

ſo were there few circumſtances in her fanatical reign, propitious to the growth of polite erudition. It is however a pleaſing circumſtance to be able to ſelect an event from the calamitous hiſtory of her times, which happily concurred with ſome preceding eſtabliſhments to diffuſe claſſical knowledge, and which does honour to the founder of a *Society*, which among the ſtateſmen, poets, and ſcholars, enrolled in its liſts, records the names of SOMERS, CHATHAM, MERRICK, WARTON, BENWELL, and BOWLES. In the year 1554, Trinity College in Oxford was founded by Sir Thomas Pope [k]: who in the conſtitution of this Society principally inculcates the uſe and neceſſity of claſſical literature; and recommends it as the moſt important and leading object in his ſyſtem of academical ſtudy. "He eſtabliſhes in this ſeminary a teacher of humanity, whoſe buſineſs is deſcribed with a particularity not uſual in the conſtitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind; and he is directed to exert his utmoſt diligence in tincturing his auditors with a juſt reliſh for the graces and purity of the Latin language, and to explain critically the Offices, de Oratore, and Rhetorical Treaties of Cicero, the Inſtitutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Livy, &c. In his prefatory ſtatute, where he deſcribes the nature and deſign of his foundation, he declares,

[k] Alme Parens ſalveto! tuum eſt veſtigia vulgi
Quod fugiam: tu das inopis crudelia vitæ
Tædia ſolari, afflictis ſpes unica rebus!
Et finis Aonidum viridantes ire per hortos.
Warton in Sacellum Coll. Trin. Oxon.

that

that he deſtines the younger part of his eſtabliſhment not only to dialectics and philoſophy, but to the more polite literature. The ſtatutes of this college were ſubmitted to the inſpection of Cardinal Pole, one of the chief protectors of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious paſſage in a letter written by the founder now remaining, which not only diſplays the Cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but ſhews the ſtate of the Greek language at this period."—"Queen Mary was herſelf eminently learned: at the deſire of Queen Catherine Parr, ſhe tranſlated in her youth Eraſmus's Paraphraſe on St. John; the preface is written by Udall, maſter of Eton ſchool: in which he much extols her diſtinguiſhed proficience in literature. It would have been fortunate, if Mary's attention to this work had ſoftened her temper, and enlightened her underſtanding. She frequently ſpoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity[1].

In the ſubſequent reign of Elizabeth, an accurate acquaintance with the phraſes, and all the peculiarities of the ancient poets, hiſtorians, and orators, was made an indiſpenſable and almoſt the principal object in the education, not only of a gentleman, but even of a lady. Among the females of high diſtinction, who aſpired to the reputation of claſſical ſcholars, the Queen herſelf, and the beautiful and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, were the moſt conſpicuous. Roger Aſcham, their learned preceptor,

[1] Warton's Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii.

ſpeaks

ſpeaks in raptures of the progreſs, which they both made in the Greek and Latin authors, and relates ſome pleaſing anecdotes of their application to this ſtudy[m]. This pedantic faſhion appeared in many ludicrous extravagancies. It was conſpicuous in various publications, in the ſhows and pageants exhibited during the progreſs of the Queen through different parts of her dominions, and in the entertainments held in her honour, wherein emblems alluſive to claſſical mythology were conſtantly introduced.

But the pedantry, which gave ſo deep a tinge to the faſhion of thoſe times, had little effect upon the productions of Shakeſpeare. Raiſed by the power of original and daring genius, he bent the information of former ages to his own purpoſes. His works, like thoſe of Milton, were for a time neglected: but ſince the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, they have been held in the higheſt eſtimation, and have contributed, perhaps more than any others of our national compoſitions, to diffuſe a reliſh for books. That reliſh was firſt excited by the numerous tranſlations of the Greek and Roman authors, and of Italian tales into Engliſh, in the reign of Elizabeth. The works of the writers, who flouriſhed in the time of Queen Anne, particularly Addiſon, Swift, and Dryden, diveſted learning of its ſtiffneſs, revived a juſt taſte for the claſſics, and had great influence in making the peruſal of books a popular

[m] Aſcham. Epiſt. ii. lib. p. 18. Edit. 1581, &c. Warton's Life of Pope, p. 93, &c.

amuſement

amuſement. Since that period, we may fairly be called a nation of readers. Books of all kinds have been produced, and the *Preſs* has ſupplied the means of multiplying them to a degree, which exceeds the power of calculation. We well know, and lament, that it is ſubject to great abuſe, and is too frequently made the inſtrument for the propagation of inſignificant, licentious, and pernicious works, deſtructive to morals, and hoſtile to religion. It has perhaps done more miſchief by the diffuſion of the principles of anarchy and atheiſm in the preſent age, than the ſword or the cannon: but, happily for mankind, the antidote grows in the ſame ſoil, where the poiſon ſprings up in ſuch luxuriance. Let us conſider what the preſs has effected, and what it may ſtill produce for the advantage, the inſtruction, and delight of mankind. Its benefits are as extenſive as they are various; it is of the higheſt importance to us, as we are Engliſhmen, and as we are Chriſtians. It is the ſafeguard of liberty, when uſed to protect our excellent Conſtitution againſt the cabals of party, and the attacks of democratic rage. It is the ally of religion, when it ſupplies the world with the productions of the learned and the pious; who labour to diſſeminate the precepts of genuine Chriſtianity. It furniſhes the means of rational improvement, and amuſement in the hours of ſickneſs and leiſure, communicates inſtruction to the young, and entertainment to the old, and ſpreads theſe enjoyments far and wide, before every people of the globe. We have therefore ſufficient

ſufficient reaſon to congratulate ourſelves, on being born at a time, in which we are reſcued from the groſs ignorance which enveloped our anceſtors; when the light of pure religion and uſeful knowledge is diffuſed around us; and when, provided that our moral improvements keep pace, in a due degree, with our intellectual proficiency, we may be virtuous, as well as enlightened and intelligent, beyond the example of former ages.

Concluſion.

Such are ſome of the moſt ſtriking points, upon which the ſtudent will fix his eye, in his wide and pleaſing ſurvey of modern hiſtory. There are many others which are entitled to his obſervation; and he cannot fail to notice with particular regard the æra marked by the invention of the mariner's compaſs, and all the conſequent improvements in navigation. From that period, the ſailor became more confident and more adventurous: he ſcorned to coaſt along the ſhore, and boldly ſteered his veſſel into the wide and open ocean. He diſcovered new iſlands, and even new continents, eſtabliſhed a free intercourſe with the moſt remote quarters of the globe, imparted to diſtant nations the advantages of commerce, and pointed out to the Europeans a boundleſs ſcope for the plantation of colonies in Aſia, Africa, and America.

In tracing the progreſs of navigation, from the confined limits of the Mediterranean and the Baltic ſhores,

ſhores, to its preſent extent in the northern and ſouthern hemiſpheres, we obſerve upon the map of the globe the tracts of thoſe renowned navigators, Chriſtopher Columbus, Vaſco de Gama, and Sebaſtian Cabot; and we follow with a more lively curioſity, and national pride, the courſes of Drake, Raleigh, Anſon, Byron, Carteret, and Cooke.

The diſcovery of gunpowder is remarkable, as its introduction into the military art has changed the mode of waging war, and leſſened its deſtructive ravages. The invention of the teleſcope was an important acquiſition to ſcience, as it has ſerved to verify the theories, and eſtabliſh the reaſonings of modern aſtronomers, and thus gives them a decided advantage over thoſe, who in ancient times cultivated the ſame ſcience. The invention likewiſe of the air-pump by Boyle, the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood by Harvey, the eſtabliſhment of the Copernican ſyſtem, the experiment of Torricelli, by which he aſcertained the weight of the atmoſphere, and the numerous improvements in various arts and ſciences, contribute to do honour to modern times. They compoſe ſuch an aſſemblage of luminous objects, as cannot fail to attract for all ages the curioſity and admiration of mankind.

Theſe pleaſing branches of ſtudy may lead us to form a juſt eſtimate of political affairs, and of the ſubjects which tend to the moral improvement of the mind. Modern hiſtory affords many examples of the

the proweſs of conquerors, who have deſolated the world, and of hypocrites, who have deceived it. And yet we may fairly aſk, of what benefit to ſociety were the impoſtures of Mahomet, the victories of Clovis, Charlemagne, Gengis Khan, and Tamerlane; the invaſion of William the Conqueror, the political cunning of Charles the fifth, the ambition of Philip the ſecond, and the intriguing ſpirit of Richelieu and Mazarine? Their empires, triumphs, conqueſts, and projects, have left little impreſſion behind them, notwithſtanding the attention they once attracted, and the violent convulſions, which they cauſed in the ſtate of the world. The mind is refreſhed, and turns with delight to more pacific ſcenes, to trace the diſcoveries of Columbus and Vaſco de Gama, and the beneficial change in religious opinions, which Luther and Calvin produced. We conſider with more ſatisfaction than the recital of battles and ſieges can afford, the mild and benevolent ſpirit of colonization, which actuated the exertions of William Penn; the ſublime philoſophy of Bacon, Newton, and Locke; and the matchleſs poetry of Shakeſpeare, Milton, and Taſſo: Theſe have a more beneficial influence in enlarging our knowledge, and ſatisfying our curioſity, than the moſt intimate acquaintance with the conqueſts of the ambitious, and the machinations of the politic. The works of war and heroiſm are too often deſtructive in their operations, and diſaſtrous in their conſequences; and the cloſer they are examined, the more they wound our feelings, by the cala-

mities they have produced. They may furniſh indeed very inſtructive leſſons of caution, if the rulers of mankind imitate the conduct of prudent mariners, who remark the ſituation of rocks and ſhoals, only from a deſign to avoid them. How much fairer and more inviting is the proſpect of the works of genius, ſcience, arts, and commerce! They charm our attention the longer they are ſurveyed; and the more intimately we are acquainted with them, the greater is our pleaſure, as well as our improvement.

Thus have we ſeen that the arts and ſciences have kept pace with the progreſs of manners and religion, in adorning and exalting the human mind; and thus has their united light diſpelled the ſhades of ignorance and barbariſm. The intellectual powers, after ages of depreſſion, have ſurmounted all obſtacles, and operated through every channel of knowledge; and perhaps it is not arrogating too much ſuperiority to aſſert, that the glory even of ancient Greece and Rome has been equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, by the talents and diligence of modern Europeans, in the cultivation of whatever can inſtruct and improve ſociety.

This intereſting part of hiſtory diſplays to us a variety of diſcoveries, events, improvements, and inſtitutions, which have contributed, in their aggregate effects, to *raiſe the Character of Man above its former level*, to encourage induſtry, and diverſify its purſuits; to call forth the powers of the mind

to every *laudable exertion*, to cherish *all the Virtues* of the heart, and make human existence *more valuable*, by INCREASING THE GENERAL STOCK OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT, AND PROMOTING SOCIAL ORDER, COMFORT, AND HAPPINESS.

END OF VOLUME I.

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